

ISSN 0038-0903

# SOLANUS

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL FOR RUSSIAN & EAST EUROPEAN  
BIBLIOGRAPHIC, LIBRARY & PUBLISHING STUDIES

New Series    Vol. 4    1990





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*Solanus* is published by the Standing Conference of National and University Libraries  
(SCONUL), 102 Euston Street, London NW1 2HA, United Kingdom.

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# Lenin and the British Museum Library

Bob Henderson

Of the many historical figures who have studied in the British Library perhaps none has been more fulsome in its praises than the founder of the world's first socialist state, Vladimir Il'ich Lenin. On five of the six occasions he visited London between 1902 and 1911 he made a point of calling into the British Museum in Great Russell Street to make use of its library collections which were in his view unparalleled. After one such visit he said:

... there is no better library than the British Museum. Here there are fewer gaps in the collections than in any other library.

He was equally impressed by the efficiency and expertise of the staff of the 'exceptional reference section':

Ask them any question, and in the very shortest space of time they will tell you which books to consult to find the material that interests you.

And later:

They have extremely rich Russian collections and specialist staff who keep a close eye on what is being published in Russia and make their acquisitions immediately. You just have to put in a request for a book and it will be found for you.<sup>1</sup>

His attachment to the Library dates from 29 April 1902, when for the first time he signed the Library's Admissions Register and entered Panizzi's famous Round Reading Room to pursue his studies. He had arrived in London with his wife, Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaia, earlier that month in order to set up publication of *Iskra*, the organ of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, which was being turned out of Munich by the German authorities. The Twentieth Century Press had agreed to carry out the printing at 37a Clerkenwell Green (now the home of the Marx Memorial Library), and soon accommodation was found for the new arrivals not far from there, at 30 Holford Square, Pentonville.

It was from this address that Lenin wrote his first letter to the Director of the British Museum requesting permission to study in the Library. The letter, written in perfect English, is dated 21 April 1902, and bears the signature 'Jacob Richter', the pseudonym which he used in England to throw the

<sup>1</sup> N. S. Karzhanskii, 'V. I. Lenin na V s''ezde RSDRP', in *Vospominaniia o Vladimire Il'iche Lenine* (Moscow, 1956), tom 1, pp. 362–3 [10799.e.2]. An English translation of the relevant section appears in *Lenin and Library Organisation*, edited by N. S. Kartashov (Moscow, 1983), pp. 164–5 [YA.1990.a.1507].

Tsarist police off his track. The reference required by the Museum authorities was supplied by I. H. Mitchell, General Secretary of the General Federation of Trade Unions. However, this did not satisfy the Admissions Office as the home address given by Mitchell could not be found in the London street directories. Lenin then wrote a further letter enclosing another recommendation from Mitchell, who this time wrote from the address of his union's headquarters. This proved sufficient and five days later, on Tuesday 29 April, Lenin signed the Admissions Register and was issued with a reader's ticket, number A72453. This was valid for three months only, but the Library's 'Card Index of Readers' shows that on 28 July this period was extended by another three months, and on 28 October by a further six months. On 29 April 1903, exactly one year after entering the Reading Room for the first time, he surrendered his reader's ticket to the authorities and a few days later left England for France.

In August of the same year Lenin and Krupskaia returned for the Second Congress of the RSDLP but there is no firm evidence to suggest that he visited the British Museum on this occasion, despite the fact that he said that he used the Library whenever he was in London.<sup>2</sup> However, during the Third Party Congress, which again took place in London (from 25 April to 10 May 1905), it is known that he paid a visit to Great Russell Street and there copied out extracts from the works of Marx and Engels. He next visited London for the Fifth Congress in 1907, and spent roughly a week in the Library at the beginning of June. In May of the following year he returned, this time with the express intention of spending a month in the Library to work on his book, *Materializm i empiriokrititsizm*. He made use of the Library's collections on only one more occasion, in November 1911 during his lecture tour of Europe.

Although these last four visits have been well documented in the reminiscences of his family and colleagues, until now no confirmation of them had been found in the archives of the Library.<sup>3</sup> Nor had any serious research been undertaken to resolve the question of exactly how many books Lenin donated to the Library; according to the *General Catalogue of Printed Books* there are only two such works, which are listed as:

<sup>2</sup> The name 'Richter' does appear in the 'Temporary Admissions Register' for July/August 1903 (no. 1057), but with no further information available it is impossible to say whether this entry refers to Lenin or not.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the best source for this period of his life is L. L. Murav'eva and I. I. Sivolap-Kaftanova, *Lenin v Londone* (Moscow, 1981) [X.808/34948]; also in English as *Lenin in London* (London, 1983) [X.808/39009]. Of the many volumes of reminiscences available, the best is Krupskaia's *Vospominaniiia o Lenine* (Moscow, 1957) [10798.aa.68], also in English as *Memories of Lenin* (London, 1970) [X.708/5880].

Za 12 let. *Sobranie statei*, tom 1, 2 chast. 1.

S. Peterburg, 1908.

Author's presentation copy to the British Museum.<sup>4</sup>

[Cup. 403. w. 8].

Given the fact that he donated many more of his works to other European libraries, it is indeed hard to believe that he should have given no more than these two slim volumes to this institution which he held in such high esteem.

It is now almost ninety years since Lenin first entered the domed reading room to begin his studies, and at last, following the recent discovery of a number of documents in the British Museum Archives, more light can be thrown on these and other matters relating to his visits to London and his use of the Library. Perhaps the most important of the documents are those dating from 1908, which comprise among other things two previously unknown Lenin letters.

The first of these is dated 18 May 1908, and is addressed to the Director of the British Museum (Fig. 1). It reads as follows:

I am writer by profession. I have sent to the British Museum from Geneva, where I am usually living, two of my Russian books (my pen-name is Iljin). I came now in London in order to study comparatively new english and new german philosophy. I enclose a written recommendation from a London householder, and I should be very much obliged if You would give me admission ticket to the Reading Room of the British Museum.

Vl. Oulianoff.  
21. Tavistock Place. 21. [sic]  
London. W.C.  
18-th may 08.

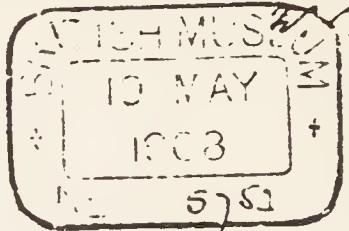
His 'written recommendation' came from a certain J. J. Terrett (Fig. 2), but unfortunately history repeated itself and, just as had happened six years previously, the authorities refused him admission. Two days later he wrote again enclosing a second reference, this time from his old friend, the manager of the Twentieth Century Press, Harry Quelch. This was evidently sufficient, since he was immediately asked to call into the Library to pick up his reading ticket. He did so on Friday 22 May, and after signing the Admissions Book was issued with a three-month pass.

These documents are of interest in several respects. Firstly, if one compares the 1902 correspondence with these letters one is struck by the number of mistakes in the latter: uncertainty about capitalization, omission of articles, etc. Lenin was without doubt a gifted linguist, and thanks to the lessons which he took in London in 1902 he had developed an excellent knowledge of

<sup>4</sup> *The British Library: General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1975* (London, 1983), vol. 189, p. 68. British Library pressmarks are given throughout in square brackets.

Locall  
19/1908

21. Fawcett Place.



To The Director  
of the British Museum

I am writer by propection I have sent  
to the British Museum from Guadalupe,  
where I am usually living, two of my  
russian books (my pen-name is Ilijin).  
I came now in London in order to  
study comparatively new english and  
new german philosophy. I enclose  
a written recommendation from a

London householder, and I should  
be very much obliged if you would  
give me admission ticket to the  
Reading Room of the British Mu-  
seum.

H. Julianoff.

21. Tavistock Place. 21.  
London. W.C.

18-th may 08.

English.<sup>5</sup> Should one simply put this apparent drop in standards down to a lack of regular practice, or alternatively should one conclude that the letters of 1902 must have been written with some assistance? Of course it could be that both assumptions are true.

The letters also confirm some facts about this period of his life which either have been referred to by Lenin himself, or have been known previously only from the reminiscences of his contemporaries; for example, his subject of study—European philosophy; his address in Bloomsbury; and the name he used during this visit—Vl. Oulianoff. In fact, this was the first time he had used his real name (in its French transliterated form) in his dealings with the Library, and it was for this reason that he was obliged to reapply for admission. Had he continued to use the Richter pseudonym he would have found the admissions procedure much easier, as the 1912 edition of the Library's *Guide to the Use of the Reading Room* states:

If immediate renewal is not required the ticket should be returned, and can be renewed on simple application when desired. Once granted the renewal of a ticket, whether it be applied for immediately after its expiration or at a later period, does not involve the production of a fresh recommendation.<sup>6</sup>

The same guide also explains why the first letter of recommendation was not sufficient, since neither was Terrett 'a person of recognised position', nor did he certify in his letter that the applicant would 'make proper use of the Reading Room'. Moreover, the authorities would not have been able to confirm Terrett's place of abode 'in the ordinary sources of reference'—he is not listed as a tenant of 100 Byne Road in the Sydenham street directories for that period.<sup>7</sup> It is also worth noting that he manages to misspell his address in the city (Bartholemew instead of Bartholomew), and finally he forgets to date the letter. Taking all this into account it is perhaps no surprise that the Library found this reference quite unsatisfactory. Indeed, a prospective reader could not have asked for a worse recommendation.

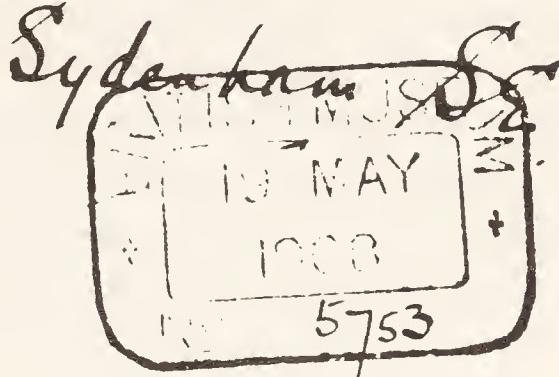
Who then was this mysterious referee who claimed to be 'well acquainted' with Lenin, but who has received no mention in any work by or about him? In the 1908 *Voting Registers for the City of London*, under the name John Joseph Terrett, he is listed as an elector for 53 Little Britain (or 78 Bartholomew

<sup>5</sup> Lenin advertised in the *Athenaeum* of 10 May 1902 offering to exchange Russian lessons for English [P.P.5639]. One of the three replies he received was from a Mr Henry Rayment of 70 Station Road, Sidcup, Kent, who as well as giving Lenin English lessons became a close friend, and also allowed his address to be used as an *Iskra* 'mailbox'. See Murav'eva and Sivolap-Kaftanova (note 3), pp. 43, 86. Also *Kelly's Directory of the Six Home Counties* (London, 1845 etc.) [P.P.2505.ybq].

<sup>6</sup> *Guide to the Use of the Reading Room* (London, British Museum, Department of Printed Books, 1912), pp. 7–8 [11917.aa.26].

<sup>7</sup> *Kelly's Sydenham, Norwood and Streatham Directory* (London, 1881 etc.) [P.P.2505.ye/35].

100 Byne Rd



To the Director  
British Museum Library

Sir

I am well acquainted  
with Mr. Culianoff who is applying  
to you who request a readers ticket

for bona-fide purposes of  
research Yours faithfully

J. J. Tarett

(Elected of City of London for 78 Berthold etc)

Fig. 2

Close).<sup>8</sup> His usual place of abode is given not as Sydenham, but as 130 Ridley Road, Forest Gate. In fact, from 1896 to 1908 he lived at various addresses in the Forest Gate/West Ham area, from where he occasionally contributed articles to *Justice*. He was also the author of two of the socialist pamphlets published by the Twentieth Century Press.<sup>9</sup> There is therefore little doubt that he knew Harry Quelch, and it is likely that through him he was introduced to Lenin. Fortunately, Quelch's recommendation included everything which Terrett's had omitted. His letter serves as further proof of his lasting friendship with Lenin, and of his willingness to lend a hand to his Russian socialist comrades whenever required.<sup>10</sup>

Perhaps the most interesting piece of information contained in the documents is Lenin's reference to the two books which he had sent to the Museum from his address in Geneva. On the face of it, this seems to correspond to the two volumes of *Za 12 let* listed as donations in the *General Catalogue*: both were written under the same pseudonym Vl. Il'in, and both appeared in print a few months before his arrival in London. The first was published in early December 1907 and was received in the Library on 11 January 1908, while the second came out under the title *Agrarnyi vopros* in mid-January 1908 and arrived in London on 14 March. Further details are to be found in the 1908 volume of the British Museum's 'Book of Presents (Report of Donations to the Department of Printed Books)', where they are listed as:

Present 152: "12 Years Ago" by Vl. Il'in, tom 1 (in Russian). Pres'd. by the Author.

Present 537: "The Agrarian Question" by V. C. Oulsanov [sic]. Pres'd. by the Author, Rue des deux Ponts 17, Geneve.

However, the 'Book of Presents' contains an even more interesting entry for 11 April 1908:

Present 857: "Development of Capitalism in Russia" by V. Ilin, 1908. (In Russian). Pres'd. by Mr. Oulianoff, 17 Rue des deux Ponts, Geneve.

This appears in the *General Catalogue* as:

*Razvitiye kapitalizma v Rossii. Izdanie vtoroe, dopolnennoe..*  
S.-Peterburg, 1908.

[o8226.i.22].

No information is given as to its provenance, although on the title page of the

<sup>8</sup> *Voting Registers for the City of London, 1908* (Polling District No. 14, Farringdon Without, Northside), p. 1277 [BLL.71].

<sup>9</sup> The two pamphlets are 'Municipal Socialism' in *West Ham* (London, TCP, 1902), and *Right Hon. H. H. Asquith and the Featherstone Massacre* (London, TCP, 1907). His articles for *Justice* include 'Jack Williams for West Ham Guardians', 22 June 1907, p. 5 [Colindale].

<sup>10</sup> Lenin refers to Quelch on several occasions in his *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* (Moscow, 1958–70), tom 20, 23, 28, 39, 46, 47, 54 [8183.aa.1].

work itself one can just make out the pencil inscription 'Donation from the Author'.

Clearly, in his letter of 18 May Lenin was referring to these last two works. As for the first volume of *Za 12 let*, it may even be that Lenin himself did not donate this work to the Library; two days before the Museum received the book, Lenin had written to Maksim Gor'kii in Capri asking if he had received a copy of the work which he had asked to be sent to him from St Petersburg. It could be that he also asked for a copy to be forwarded to the British Museum on his behalf.<sup>11</sup> Whether or not this is so, there can be no doubt about the provenance of another volume in the British Library's collections. This work is listed in the 'Book of Presents' for 11 November 1911 as:

"Deux Partis" par G. Kamenoff, 1911. Pres'd. by Mr. Oulianoff, 4 Rue Marie Rose, Paris.

This fourth Lenin donation appears in the *General Catalogue* as:

"Dve partii... s predisloviem N. Lenina." Paris, 1911. [8094.k.43].

Again no information on provenance is given. However, the Library's 'Temporary Admissions Register' for November 1911 shows that Lenin was once more admitted under the name Vl. Oulianoff (no. 2129), while the Library's 'Card Index of Readers', as well as confirming his London address—6 Oakley Square, N.W.—, also gives the date of his readmission: 11 November. It is therefore almost certain that Lenin presented his colleague Kamenev's book to the Library in person.<sup>12</sup>

Many more of Lenin's works held by the British Library bear the yellow stamp signifying a donated work. However, these are either not listed in the 'Book of Presents' or are entered as anonymous gifts or as donations from elsewhere. A case in point is Present 582 for 12 April 1902:

"What's to be done" by N. Lenin (in Russian). Pres'd. by J. H. W. Dietz, Nachf. Stuttgart.<sup>13</sup>

Unfortunately, it is impossible to say whether his German publishers made this donation on their own account, or whether they were instructed to do so by Lenin. On the other hand, the Library's copy of the 1903 edition of *K derevenskoi bednote* (shelfmark C.121.a.6/8) also bears a yellow stamp, and, even though it is not listed in the 'Book of Presents', one may be inclined to

<sup>11</sup> Lenin (note 10), tom 47, pp. 119–20.

<sup>12</sup> In a letter to Kamenev Lenin wrote: 'Sizhu v Britanskom muzee i s uvlecheniem chitaiu broshiury Shveitsera 60-kh godov ...' (Lenin (note 10), tom 48, pp. 41–2). It is interesting that, whereas the 'Card Index of Readers' gives his date of admission as 11.11.11., this letter is dated 10 November. It is impossible to say which is mistaken.

<sup>13</sup> This work is entered in the catalogues as *Chto delat? Nabolevshie voprosy nashego dvizheniia* (Stuttgart, 1902) [C.121.c.3.].

believe that if Lenin had to donate only one of his works this would most certainly have been his choice, since it was based largely on the research work which he carried out during his first visit to the Library.<sup>14</sup>

In fact it is surprising that he managed to carry out this research at all, given the fact that during this period most of his time was taken up with his work on *Iskra*, to which he contributed a series of articles, all based to a greater or lesser extent on information drawn from the Library's collections. Indeed, the *Iskra* of 1902–3 owes a great deal more to this institution, for, as some further archival discoveries confirm, the Library was also frequented by other members of the journal's editorial board during their stay, as well as by some other *Iskra* contributors.

The first to follow in Lenin's footsteps signed the 'Register of Readers' on 25 July 1902 as 'Leopold Bieljansky', and received pass number A73105, valid for three months. This was almost certainly L. Martov, i.e. Iulii Osipovich Tsederbaum, later to become the 'leader' of the Mensheviks but at this time still a close friend of Lenin and a member of the so-called 'Iskra Commune'. This entry is interesting also in that it provides us for the first time with the full address of the 'Commune': 14 Sidmouth Street, W.C.<sup>15</sup>

Next to sign the Register was Lev Grigor'evich Deich (Deutsch), one of the founders, with Plekhanov and Zasulich, of the Emancipation of Labour Group. Using his pseudonym 'Leo Allemoun', and giving his address as 26 Granville Square, W.C., he entered the Reading Room on 2 August with pass number A73153, valid for three months. He was followed on 18 August by another member of the 'Commune', Vera Ivanovna Zasulich, herself no stranger to the Library, having worked there extensively during her first stay in London almost ten years previously. On that occasion Edward Aveling, the husband of Marx's daughter Eleanor, had helped her gain admission. This time she used the same pseudonym, 'Vera Beldinsky', and was admitted with pass number A73243, which was valid for six months.<sup>16</sup>

Unfortunately, the correspondence relating to these three admissions has

<sup>14</sup> Much work has already been done to list the material read by Lenin during his visits. See the appendix (below) and also P. Bogachev's article in *Bibliotekar'*, 1961, no. 4, pp. 25–9 [P.P.1213.cm.]; 'Lenin v Britanskom muzee', *Inostrannaia literatura*, 1957, no. 4, pp. 20–3 [P.P.4881.sdn.]; and *Vladimir Il'ich Lenin: biograficheskia khronika* (Moscow, 1970–1985), tom I, pp. 382–6, 404, 407–9, 427, 435–7, 441, 445–6, 447, etc. [YH.1987.a.870].

<sup>15</sup> The 'Card Index of Readers' shows that the 'communards' had already moved to another address—23 Percy Circus, W.C.—by October 1902. This address was also given by a certain 'Boris Nemirovsky' when he registered as a reader on 28 January 1903 (pass no. A74664). His true identity has still to be established, although one can be quite certain that he too was involved with *Iskra* in some way.

<sup>16</sup> 'Menia Eleonora svoim umom v muzee zapisala Veroi Bel',—ia nashla chto tak i luchshe ... Ia i u khoziaek i na pochte vezde stala raspisyvat'sia V. (B.). No net, vydali bez razgovoru.' *Gruppa 'Osvobozhdenie truda'*, 1926, no. 4, p. 289 [8289.dd.3]. In fact, according to the archives, Zasulich never used this shortened form of her usual pseudonym.

not yet been found in the British Museum archives, but luckily the same is not true of a fourth admission, that of Georgii Valentinovich Plekhanov, the father of Russian Marxism. Having decided to pay a brief visit to the editorial team in London he wrote to Lenin asking that rooms be found for him. Then on 6 October 1902, just a few weeks after his arrival, he sent a letter to the Museum from his lodgings at 25 Frederick Street, W.C., asking to be admitted to the Reading Room in order to, as he put it, 'faire quelques recherches dans le domaine de la philosophie'. He enclosed a reference from a noted Swedish medical practitioner, Dr Henryk Kellgren of 49 Eaton Square, S.W., and was admitted without any problems two days later with pass number A73677, which was valid for three months.<sup>17</sup> Although Lev Trotskii is also known to have used the Library at this time, as yet no reference to his admission under any of his known pseudonyms has been found in the Museum archives, despite extensive searches.<sup>18</sup>

One can be sure that the archives contain many more documents relating to this period and the use of the Library by Lenin and his associates. For example, as yet no firm evidence has been found of his 1905 and 1907 visits, although the 'Temporary Admissions Register' does mention that a certain J. P. Richter was admitted during May 1907 (no. 3782). However, it is impossible to check on this since the corresponding volumes of temporary readers' signatures for that period are not available. This is indeed unfortunate, since those 1907 volumes would have provided us for the first time with his London address. As for his associates, there is without doubt still a great deal of information to be found in both the British Museum and the British Library on Lenin's other colleagues in the RSDLP, on the *Iskra* editorial board, and in the British socialist movement as a whole.

Of course such archival discoveries as those described above are useful insofar as they furnish us with a wealth of factual information such as dates, addresses and pseudonyms. Moreover they show just how widely the 'sanctuary' of the British Museum Library was used and valued by the Russian emigré community and, finally, by showing the wide range of contacts and friendships which existed between the emigrés and their British contemporaries, they provide us with a fascinating insight into the political and intellectual life in London at the turn of the century.

<sup>17</sup> Like Zasulich, Plekhanov had been admitted to the Library in September 1894, also with the assistance of Edward Aveling. See also B. A. Chagin and I. N. Kurbatova, *Plekhanov* (Moscow, 1973), pp. 58–9, 206 [X.708/10793].

<sup>18</sup> Trotskii says that shortly after arriving in London in October 1902 he obtained entry to the 'sviatilishche' (i.e. sanctuary) of the British Museum Library with the assistance of Lenin, and later says that Harry Quelch had helped him gain admission. L. Trotskii, *Moia zhizn'* (Berlin, 1930), tom 1, pp. 170, 172 [010795.i.58]; this work exists in several English editions, e.g. *My Life* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1979) [X.708/16420].

## APPENDIX

## MATERIAL CONSULTED BY LENIN IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM LIBRARY

Unfortunately, the Library does not keep a record of the books and journals issued to individual readers, but by cross-checking against the catalogues the notes and bibliographical references given in Lenin's *Biograficheskaja khronika*—an extremely detailed chronicle of his life—it is possible to identify some of the items which he used in his studies. During the period 1902–3 these included:

- Coulet, Élie, *Le Mouvement syndical et coopératif dans l'agriculture française* (Montpellier, 1898) [08282.k.20]  
 David, Eduard, *Socialismus und Landwirtschaft* (Berlin, 1903) [08275.c.43]  
 Fischer, Gustav, *Die sociale Bedeutung der Maschinen in der Landwirtschaft* (Berlin, 1902) [8205.pp.3.(5.)]  
 Goltz, Theodor A. G. L. von der, *Die agrarischen Aufgaben der Gegenwart* ... (Jena, 1895) [08277.h.27]  
 Hertzog, August, *Die bäuerlichen Verhältnisse im Elsass durch Schilderung dreier Dörfer* (Strassburg, 1886) [08282.i.34/1]  
*Landwirtschaftliche Jahrbücher* (Berlin, 1872–) [P.P.2350.ca]  
 Maercker, Max, *Die Kalidüngung in ihrem Werte für die Erhöhung und Verbilligung der landwirtschaftlichen Produktion* (Berlin, 1892) [7074.g.2]  
 Ogden, H. J., *The War against the Dutch Republics in South Africa* (Manchester, 1901) [09061.bb.19]  
 Turot, Paul, *L'Enquête agricole de 1866–1870 ...* (Paris, 1877) [7075.k.2]  
*Zeitschrift des Königlich Preussischen Statistischen Bureaus* (Berlin, 1861–) [P.P.3874.ba]

As mentioned above, during his brief 1905 visit we know only that he made notes from the works of Marx and Engels. It may be that one of the items consulted was the Library's copy of the first Russian edition of *Das Kapital*, which is entered in the catalogue as:

- Kapital .. 3 tom.* (S.-Peterburg, 1872–96) [C.185.b.12]

It is interesting to note that the second of these three volumes was also a donation; not from Lenin, however, but from Friedrich Engels and Marx's daughter Eleanor. The following inscription—possibly in the hand of Engels—appears on the title-page:

To the British Museum from the literary executors of Karl Marx.  
 London. 1.2.86. Presented by F. Engels & Eleanor Marx Aveling.

All that is known of Lenin's 1907 visit is that he spent some time in the Library at the end of the Fifth Party Congress editing the stenographic reports of his speeches. Fortunately, a more detailed account of the

works which he consulted in 1908 can be gained by cross-checking the bibliographical references given in *Materializm i empiriokrititsizm* (Moscow, 1920) [08465.ee.34] against the Library's catalogues. However, since Lenin carried out the research for this book in other institutions besides the British Library—most notably, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris—we cannot be absolutely sure about what material was consulted in which library. Nevertheless, we might assume that he turned to the British Museum for most of his British and American sources. These included:

Bax, Ernest Belfort, <i>The Roots of Reality</i> (London, 1907)	[8470.i.25]
Berkeley, Bishop George, <i>Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge</i> (in his <i>Works</i> , Oxford, 1871)	[2022.c] or [08486.f.19]
Clifford, William K., <i>Lectures and Essays</i> , 3rd ed. (London, 1901)	[012355.e.13]
Huxley, T. H., <i>Hume</i> (London, 1879)	[2326.b.21]
James, William, <i>Pragmatism</i> (London, 1907)	[2236.b.12]
Pearson, Karl, <i>Grammar of Science</i> , 2nd ed. (London, 1900)	[08703.b.10]
Ramsay, Sir William, K.C.B., <i>Essays, Biographical and Chemical</i> (London, 1908)	[12352.t.5]
Snyder, Carl, <i>The World Machine</i> (London, 1907)	[08709.dd]
Stallo, J. B., <i>Concepts and Theories of Modern Physics</i> , 2nd ed. (London, 1882)	[2324.a.1/38]
Thompson, Joseph John, <i>Corpuscular Theory of Matter</i> (London, 1907)	[08709.dd.16]
Ward, Professor James, <i>Naturalism and Agnosticism</i> , 3rd ed. (London, 1906)	[4016.i.12]
<i>Mind</i> , new series (London, 1892– )	[P.P.1247]
<i>The Monist</i> (Chicago, 1890– )	[P.P.1253.g]
<i>Nature</i> , weekly (London, 1869– )	[P.P.2011.c]
<i>Natural Science</i> , monthly (London, 1892– )	[P.P.1976.c]
<i>Open Court</i> (Chicago, 1887–1936)	[P.P.638.k]
<i>Philosophical Review</i> (Boston, N.Y., 1892– )	[P.P.1253.i]
<i>Scientific American Supplement</i> (N.Y., 1876– )	[P.P.1612.fa]

Finally, in his letter to Kamenev of November 1911 Lenin himself describes his subject of study (see note 12). In this instance we can be quite sure of the pamphlets which he consulted since there are only four of Johann Baptist von Schweitzer's works dating from the 1860s in the Library's collections. These are:

<i>Der einzige Weg zur Einheit</i> (Frankfurt am Main, 1860)	[8073.b.115.(3)]
<i>Der Zeitgeist und das Christenthum</i> (Leipzig, 1861)	[4016.bb.25]
<i>Zur deutschen Frage</i> (Frankfurt am Main, 1862)	[8072.cc.48]
<i>Die österreichische Spitze ...</i> (Leipzig, 1863)	[8073.ccc.99(6)]

# Литературная Пластинка и ее место в системе культурных ценностей

Лев Шилов

За последние три десятилетия в различных странах (где больше, где меньше) издано много сотен, а может быть, и тысяч литературных пластинок. Трудно даже приблизительно определить их общее количество и дать им какую-либо характеристику, так как интересы большинства дискографических изданий сосредоточены прежде всего на музыкальных дисках; сведения же о литературных звукозаписях малочисленны, разрознены и случайны. (Речь идет не только о ‘традиционных’ грампластинках, но и о ‘магнитофильмах’, ‘компакт-кассетах’, ‘компакт-дисках’ и видеокассетах—технический вид носителя информации для той постановки вопроса, которую я имею в виду, значения не имеет.) Но то, что сам феномен литературной пластинки до сих пор теоретически не осмыслен, ведет, по моему мнению, к серьезному просчету в практической деятельности многих библиотек и музеев мира: некоторые из них до сих пор вообще игнорируют литературную пластинку, не считая ее достойным объектом собирания и изучения, а те, которые все же имеют литературные пластинки, чаще всего смотрят на них как на материал ‘подсобный’, третьюстепенный.

Лишь немногие национальные библиотеки комплектуют свои фонды литературными пластинками. Так, например, большой Отдел звукозаписи имеет Библиотека Конгресса США, и Британская библиотека так же имеет значительное собрание записей в составе своего филиала—Национального звукового архива. Другие же вообще не имеют звуковых литературных фондов. Главная библиотека СССР—Государственная библиотека им. В. И. Ленина—правда, вот уже три десятилетия как собирает пластинки, но это в своем подавляющем большинстве пластинки музыкальные, и находится этот небольшой фонд в ведении нотного отдела.

В настоящей статье я хочу показать, что *литературная пластинка имеет свою особую суть, которая резко отличает ее от пластинки музыкальной, предельно приближает ее к книге, к художественной литературе и дает ей право быть объектом собирания и изучения прежде всего в библиотеках, литературных музеях и в тех учебных заведениях, где достаточно серьезно изучается литература.*

Вполне допускаю, что эта проблема прежде всего актуальна для русской культурной жизни, поскольку звучание составляет существенную конструктивную особенность ряда жанров именно русской литературы и

особенно поэзии, а публичные выступления писателей в нашей стране имеют давнюю традицию и связаны с определенными особенностями нашей истории. Вероятно, этим и определяется то, что наша страна в области литературной звукозаписи, кажется, лидирует. Но, полагаю, что в той или иной степени эта проблема является актуальной и для многих других национальных культур.

Первые литературные пластинки появились в России еще в 1910-х годах. ‘Общество деятелей периодической печати’ при участии английской компании ‘Граммофон’ записало выступления Л. Толстого, Л. Андреева, И. Бунина, В. Брюсова, А. Куприна... Пластинки Льва Толстого пользовались такой популярностью, что устраивались даже их коллективные прослушивания. Именно Льву Толстому принадлежит мысль о том, что со временем и при умелом использовании литературная пластинка ‘может принести такую же пользу, как и книга’. В 1919 году, в разгар гражданской войны, одновременно с речами Ленина, Калинина, Бухарина, Луначарского и Троцкого, были изданы литературные пластинки пролетарских поэтов В. Кириллова и Герасимова... В 20-30-е годы издавались пластинки модных ‘молодежных’ поэтов И. Уткина, А. Жарова, В. Инбер... Начиная с 60-х годов особенно много было записано пластинок таких представителей ‘эстрадной поэзии’, как Б. Ахмадулина, Евг. Евтушенко, А. Вознесенский, Р. Рождественский, Б. Окуджава. Гораздо меньшими тиражами, но тоже издавались и издаются пластинки таких поэтов, как А. Ахматова, Н. Заболоцкий, М. Исаковский, С. Маршак, Н. Матвеева, Б. Пастернак, Д. Самойлов, Б. Слуцкий, В. Соколов, А. Твардовский, А. Тарковский... Представлены на пластинках и прозаики: М. Горький, Д. Гранин, М. Зощенко, В. Катаев, Л. Леонов, К. Паустовский, М. Пришвин, Ю. Трифонов, В. Шукшин... Большим успехом пользуются у любителей литературы пластинки, на которых собраны реставрированные записи голосов писателей прошлого, таких, как А. Блок, В. Вересаев, С. Есенин, Э. Багрицкий, А. Серафимович, Н. Островский, Ю. Тынянов, Ю. Олеша...<sup>1</sup> Все чаще в последние годы выходят книги с приложением ‘гибких пластинок’. Большой популярностью в Советском Союзе пользуется журнал ‘Кругозор’, почти в каждом номере которого одна из звучащих страниц отводится литературе или театру.

Теперь уже многие наши писатели представлены не только читателю, но и слушателю. Растущая популярность пластинок с голосами писателей, вероятно, прежде всего объясняется тем, что литературная

<sup>1</sup> Первые две таких пластинки под названием ‘Говорят писатели’ (Д 05592-3 и Д 018421-2) составлены И. Андрониковым, третья, под названием ‘Голоса, зазвучавшие вновь’ (М 40 39857-8) составлена мною.

пластинка дает прекрасную возможность, услышав самого автора, воспринять его интонационную трактовку произведения и тем самым глубже и полнее постичь писательский замысел. Особенна ценна возможность услышать авторское чтение стихов, так как здесь звучащая, музыкальная сторона подчас исключительно важна. ‘Магия поэтического слова,—говорит Юнна Мориц, чья большая авторская пластинка вышла весной 1979 года,—это магия исповедальности, сокровенного воспоминания, духовного взлета, магия одержимости прекрасным, это белая магия, которая никак не прикрашивает стихи, а сливается с ними и проливает свой свет на них...’

Еще недавно литературная пластинка была предметом интереса и увлечения весьма немногих любителей звучащей литературы. Но в последние годы, вероятно, не без влияния участившихся поэтических вечеров, более частых телевизионных и радиопередач с участием писателей, литературная пластинка привлекает все большее внимание книголюбов. Иногда даже приходится встречать предположение о том, что ‘звукящая книга’ сможет со временем в какой-то степени заменить книгу печатную. С этим трудно согласиться. Литературная пластинка никогда не заменит печатную книгу, ибо *системы ‘читатель-книга’ и ‘слушатель-пластинка’ имеют принципиальные отличия*. Книга более, чем пластинка, чем телепередача, чем кинофильм активизирует способность к воображению. Читая, вы на основе своих знаний, опыта, эмоций воссоздаете для себя прочитанное. Слушая пластинку или смотря телепередачу, вы знакомитесь не только с самим произведением, но и с его авторской, режиссерской, актерской интерпретацией. Вы сравниваете ваше представление о произведении с той трактовкой, которую предлагает вам исполнитель. (Сам автор на пластинке выступает прежде всего как исполнитель.) Читатель, в зависимости от своей индивидуальности, знакомится с книгой каждый по-разному, обращая большее или меньшее внимание на те или иные сцены, образы, оттенки произведения, и движется по страницам в своем, прихотливо меняющемся темпе, зависящем от его способности к быстрому или медленному чтению, степени важности, которую он придает читаемому, от его заинтересованности интригой и множества других факторов. Слушатель пластинки получает произведение в уже определенной интерпретации: исполнитель интонационно выделил наиболее, по его мнению, значимые места, подчеркнул определенные темы, выяснил особенно важные ему краски. И процесс раскрытия произведения происходит в темпе, который может весьма отличаться от темпа вашего восприятия.

Впрочем, разговор о различии между книгой и пластинкой, возможно, следует начинать не с этого, а с того очевидного, но еще мало осознанного факта, что обычно мы обращаемся к книге для того, чтобы

познакомиться с новым для нас автором или новым его произведением, а, выбирая пластинку, мы руководствуемся желанием получить дополнительную информацию об уже хорошо знакомом, более того, о серьезно заинтересовавшем нас авторе.<sup>2</sup> Чтобы прослушать и ‘постичь’ литературную пластинку, необходимо иметь к этому и особое душевное расположение, ‘настрой’, определенные условия, в которых вас ничто не будет отвлекать от этого процесса, довольно значительное (около часа) время. Но зато вы получите нечто, не передаваемое и невосполнимое никакими иными средствами: не только более глубокое и яркое представление об уже известном вам произведении, но и иллюзию непосредственного общения с личностью автора.

Знакомясь с пластинками разных писателей, убеждаешься в том, что авторское чтение в разной мере обогащает наше представление о самом произведении. Если для полного, правильного восприятия некоторых произведений вполне достаточно ‘чтение глазами’, то для понимания других, подчас специально рассчитанных на определенное произнесение, совершенно необходимо услышать авторское чтение. Так, например, восприятие стихов Маяковского его слушателями было полнее, результативнее, чем читателями. Этот поэт в своем чтении выражал и то, что в самом произведении не содержалось или было столь малозаметно, что легко могло быть пропущено даже внимательным читателем. Озвучивание авторским голосом произведений ‘декламационного’ жанра (Вознесенский, Евтушенко) особенно важно для полного восприятия авторского замысла этих поэтов, но оно существенно и для правильного понимания литературных произведений писателей иного, ‘недекламационного’ типа.

Это ‘нечто’, на первый взгляд отсутствующее (или действительно не содержащееся в тексте) и возникающее лишь в авторском чтении, очень трудно описать. Можно отметить лишь отдельные оттенки смысловой трактовки, которые несет интонация автора. Можно измерить и показать на графике высоту и силу звука, определить темп произведения и тембр, но то движение голоса, которое передает мысль и чувство автора во всех его оттенках, то, что содержится в глубине текста и психике творца, ускользает от самых чутких приборов. Еще и еще раз убедившись в том, что мелодия произнесенного слова чрезвычайно сложна и ее нельзя записать нотными знаками, особенно ценишь замечательное средство закрепления и передачи живого слова — литературную пластинку.

Думается, сказанного достаточно для того, чтобы увидеть, насколько

<sup>2</sup> Здесь и далее имеются в виду пластинки, начитанные самими писателями. Записи спектаклей, пластинки чтецов несут в себе тоже чрезвычайно ценную эстетическую информацию, но несколько иного характера, что, впрочем, не имеет значения для выяснения основного нашего вопроса: определение места литературной пластинки в системе культурных ценностей.

неверно сближение, ‘заключение в одни скобки’, а подчас и отождествление пластинки литературной и пластинки музыкальной. Общее у них только внешность, содержание же, ‘качество информации’ совершенно различно. Различны их функции и ‘сфера бытования’.

Отличает их друг от друга и такое внешнее, но существенное обстоятельство, как количество проигрываний. Если музыкальная пластинка (любимая) слушается десятки, сотни раз, вплоть до ее ‘заигрывания’, то литературную пластинку, даже самую интересную, слушаешь всего лишь несколько раз, а потом обращаешься к ней гораздо реже, лишь для уточнения какой-то интонации, для демонстрации друзьям, знакомым, ученикам. В Советском Союзе литературные пластинки стоят значительно дешевле пластинок эстрадной музыки. Но, если учесть название обстоятельство, то понятно, что каждое ‘проигрывание’ литературной пластинки обходится любителю литературы гораздо дороже, чем любителю музыки. Учитывая и это обстоятельство, необходимо всячески стимулировать сбиение литературных пластинок именно библиотеками, школами, клубами, где ее можно ‘взять напрокат’, где ее потенциальный слушатель мог бы получить совет и пояснение.

*Чтобы обнаружить свои скрытые возможности, литературная пластинка нуждается в комментариях.* Они обычно помещаются на ее конвертах и подчас бывают достаточно глубокими и подробными. Но и этот жанр своеобразных рецензий и путеводителей по миру звучащей литературы также остается до последнего времени вне всякого внимания нашего литературоведения. Лишь первые шаги делает в этом направлении и наша текстология, сравнительно недавно осознав, что литературная пластинка (и шире — литературная звукозапись) могут быть серьезным текстологическим источником.

Впервые в мировой практике, насколько мне известно, литературная пластинка как аргумент при уточнении канонического текста была привлечена при издании 13-ти-томного собрания сочинений В. Маяковского, в котором учитывается звуковой вариант стихотворения ‘Необычайное приключение’.<sup>3</sup> Одним из последних примеров того, как звукозапись помогает исправить текстологическую ошибку, может служить исправление в знаменитом ахматовском ‘Реквиеме’, где ошибочно печатавшаяся многие годы строка

... Постылая хлюпала дверь

в 1987 году была исправлена:

... Постылая хлюпала дверь.

<sup>3</sup> В. Маяковский. Полное собрание сочинений. Москва, 1956, т. 2, с. 444.

Всего одна буква, один звук, а как многое он меняет, как существенно уточняет и расцвечивает, обогащает образ! Со временем, когда звукозаписывающие устройства все более активно будут использоваться писателями, эта проблема станет все более важной. Уже сейчас многие советские писатели ‘наговаривают’ первые варианты своих произведений на магнитофоны. В московском Литературном музее, например, хранятся ‘звуковые черновики’ одного из романов Константина Симонова и подготовительные материалы знаменитой книги Д. Гранина и А. Адамовича о ленинградской блокаде—звукозаписи их бесед с ‘блокадниками’.

Эти фонограммы демонстрировались в 1980 году и на одной из интереснейших экспозиций Музея, выставке ‘Звучащая литература’, которая помогла нам глубже осмыслить многие возможности и своеобразие литературной пластинки. Во время ее работы<sup>4</sup> была четко выявлена одна из примечательных особенностей литературных пластинок по сравнению с книгами тех же авторов: резко сдвинулась ‘система предпочтений’. Оказалось, что слушатель литературной пластинки часто при своем выборе руководствуется несколько иными мотивами, чем при выборе книги: внимание вызывали в первую очередь пластинки писателей, интересовавших слушателей не только художественными достоинствами своих произведений, но и своими ‘личными качествами’, своей человеческой и писательской судьбой. Кроме того, если для читателя, например, характерно стремление познакомиться с пока еще не известным ему автором, то посетителям ‘Звучащей литературы’ в первую очередь интересовали голоса писателей, книги которых ему были уже хорошо знакомы. Ему было важно не столько ‘что’, сколько ‘как’; он не столько узнавал, сколько проверял степень соответствия получаемых представлений об авторе образу сложившемуся при чтении книги. Посетителей выставки почти не интересовали записи голосов писателей, которых они совершенно не знали или знали мало.

Сдвигаются в ‘звучащей литературе’ и многие общепринятые критерии литературных ценностей, та ‘табель о рангах’, которая, при всей ее спорности, все же существует в читательском сознании и издательской практике. А ведь до сих пор большинство звукозаписывающих фирм и радиокорпораций, в частности фирма ‘Мелодия’, при определении желательности звукозаписи голоса того или иного писателя исходят из общепринятого в данный момент понимания сравнительной ценности книг данных авторов. А выставка ‘Звучащая литература’ показала, что

<sup>4</sup> На первой в мире выставке ‘Звучащая литература’ (1980-1982) были представлены все жанры литературной пластинки—звуковые сборники стихов какого-либо одного автора, пластинки, объединяющие стихи различных авторов по какому-либо тематическому признаку, пластинки писательских мемуаров, диски, сочетающие авторское и актерское чтение, или совмещающие стихи и песни, документальные и художественные записи.

прямой зависимости в данном случае нет! И дело не только в том, что сравнительная ценность литературного произведения с годами меняется и, подчас, довольно существенно. Гораздо важнее то, что некоторые произведения (по своему жанру) больше ориентированы на звучание, другие меньше. Важно и то, что в ряде случаев только автор может дать достаточно полное и верное толкование отдельной строки, образа, показать семантику ритма, подчеркнуть значение звукописи и других элементов, составляющих художественное произведение.

Об этом очень важном аспекте анализа авторской интерпретации уже говорилось различными исследователями. Но работа выставки ‘Звучащая литература’ показала, что звукозапись не только помогает нам догадаться о глубинном смысле отдельной строки или фразы, но и, прежде всего, несет нам *информацию о личности говорящего*. Более того, в данном случае голос автора нам тем интереснее, чем лучше мы знаем (или представляем себе, что знаем) его личность, сближая ее с *личностью лирического героя произведения*. Отсюда решительное предпочтение посетителями выставки пластинок с голосами авторов лирических произведений пластинкам авторов исторической или бытовой прозы. Охотнее, например, слушают Евгения Евтушенко, чем Юрия Трифонова.

Еще более крайний и, на мой взгляд, очень выразительный и доказательный пример ‘разности шкал’ литературной ценности в ‘звукющей’ и ‘печатной’ литературе: при безусловном лидерстве детективов в формуларах читателей массовых библиотек ни один экскурсант на выставке ‘Звучащая литература’ за два года ее существования в Гослитмузее ни разу не выразил желания услышать голос популярнейшего автора детективов Юлиана Семенова, представленный там в числе других двухсот фонограмм. При меньшей, но несомненной популярности исторических романов никто из посетителей этой выставки ни разу не захотел услышать голос Ольги Форш... И даже голос Аркадия Стругацкого, одного из наших известнейших писателей-фантастов, звучал сравнительно редко.

Следовательно, в звукозаписи поэт (да, прежде всего поэт, а уже во вторую очередь прозаик, в третью—драматург, в четвертую—очеркист, в двадцатую—критик...) нас интересует не столько даже как интерпретатор своего творчества (как я лично полагал многие годы и о чем не раз писал применительно к чтению Маяковского, Есенина, Ахматовой), а как личность, с которой мы уже знакомы по его стихам. Если же его произведения не несут нам в достаточной мере такой информации о личности их создателя, какую, например, мы получаем из книг не только Есенина, Блока, Ахматовой, но и Паустовского, Грина, Булгакова, Экзюпери, Хемингуэя..., то и не ощущаем мы особой потребности во встрече с голосом этого писателя. Более того, если бы у нас была возможность выбора, мы, возможно, предпочли бы встречу с голосом

его героя: с голосом Дон-Кихота, а не Сервантеса; Аксиньи, а не Шолохова; Бендера, а не Ильфа-Петрова; Сани Григорьева, а не Вениамина Каверина... Боюсь, что даже Анны Аркадьевны, а не Льва Николаевича.

Анализ отзывов посетителей выставки ‘Звучащая литература’ показал, что звукозапись голоса писателя приобретает особую ценность для слушателя прежде всего тогда, когда в ней он находит дополнительные краски к тому представлению, к тому образу автора, который уже сложился в его воображении.

Иногда, не совпав или даже ‘противореча’ создавшемуся облику, звучание голоса писателя может даже разочаровать слушателя. Так, например, разочаровал многих голос Николая Островского... Слишком высокий для того мужественного героя Павла Корчагина, которого мы узнали по повести ‘Как закалялась сталь’. (Такое же разочарование испытал я, услышав голос Сент-Экзюпери.) Значит, ценна для пластинки не всякая писательская звукозапись (ну, разумеется, за любой звук голоса Пушкина, Лермонтова и Толстого мы готовы отдать много и много других голосов), а прежде всего та, которая лучше ‘работает’ на раскрытие его образа и одновременно содержит наиболее известные, желательно, ‘хрестоматийные’ его произведения. Так, например, из симоновских фонограмм чаще всего звучали стихотворения ‘Жди меня’, ‘Ты помнишь, Алеша, дороги смоленщины’ и почти не пользовались спросом посетителей другие его стихи.

Литературная пластинка—не зеркальное отражение книги, а ее своеобразное продолжение и приложение. Само собой разумеется, что она может и должна существовать и в домах любителей литературы, и на школьном уроке, и в университетской аудитории, и на радио... Но наиболее естественная и благоприятная среда обитания литературной пластинки—библиотеки и музеи, рядом с книгами и рукописями. Только там она может получить ту научную обработку, комментарий, оформление (иногда и иллюстративное, зрительное дополнение), которые позволяют раскрыть ее потенциальные возможности достаточно полно.

# Soviet Librarianship under Gorbachev: Change and Continuity

Boris Korsch

At the time of writing, Gorbachev's period of office, although already longer than those of his two predecessors put together, has not been long enough for radical changes to have taken place in any sphere of endeavour (librarianship included), but has been long enough to perceive those changes of policy which occur with the assumption of office of any leader of the CPSU. Librarianship, being a vehicle for conveying the current leader's will to the population at large, is particularly sensitive to such changes. The aim of this article is to appraise these changes, setting them against a background of continuity, i.e. the continuity of the relationship between the Communist Party and librarianship.

## Overall Political Control

The role of Soviet librarianship always was and still is defined in terms of CPSU precepts: libraries are considered to be social-cultural-pedagogical institutions with clearly set out political-ideological goals. Since the time of Krupskaia up to the present day, they are seen as 'ideological centres',<sup>1</sup> 'supporting bases of party organizations for the communist education of the workers, ideological and informational institutions', actively participating in 'the solution of concrete problems related to the building of communism as defined by ...'<sup>2</sup> whichever happens to be the most recent Party congress (in the present instance, the Twenty-Seventh). These ideological and political aims inevitably place Soviet librarianship in a perpetual state of dependency on the CPSU, subject to its control and patronage and its latest political line. Thus, Soviet librarianship's stance of open partisanship is a permanent feature, which has remained unchanged for more than seventy years, regardless of twists and turns in the Party line, the denunciation of former top leaders (Stalin by Khrushchev and Gorbachev, Khrushchev by Brezhnev), their abasement (Brezhnev by Gorbachev) or their consignment to oblivion (Andropov and Chernenko by Gorbachev).

Even in the era of glasnost and perestroika CPSU politics continue to dominate Soviet librarianship, and this state of affairs is likely to continue for as long as the Soviet Union is ruled by one party. The library system, set up to

<sup>1</sup> N. K. Krupskaia, *O biblioteknom dele: sbornik* (Moscow, 1957), p. 103.

<sup>2</sup> 'Na marshe—Vsesoiuznyi smotr raboty bibliotek na zvanie "Luchshaia biblioteka raiona, goroda, oblasti, respubliki"', *Bibliotekar'*, 1977, no. 4, pp. 6, 7 (p. 6).

serve society, has been transformed into an instrument for controlling the reading habits of that society. Thus political considerations influence all aspects of librarianship, from specific decisions on methodology to the choice of problems to be researched. However, the formulation and mode of implementation of the policies laid down by the Party do change.

### The Concepts of Glasnost and Perestroika

During the last five years these two Russian words have entered into the vocabulary of the world's languages, so there is no need to dwell on them. Glasnost has changed the social atmosphere in the Soviet Union, sanctioning, as a prerequisite of perestroika, public disclosure and criticism of inefficiency, of abuse of power and other shortcomings. Channels for expressing controlled feelings of discontent have been opened, with the proviso that doubt is not cast on the correctness of the relationship between the Party and librarianship. Critics must not 'undermine socialism' and must seek answers to the questions which they raise 'within the boundaries of socialism'.<sup>3</sup> Perestroika lies not in finding a new direction, but in the 'removal of administrative, artificial obstacles'<sup>4</sup> put in the way of the development of librarianship. It involves 'not only breaking what is old and obsolete, but also carefully selecting from and using creatively the considerable amount of constructive experience already available'.<sup>5</sup> This means giving librarians a certain freedom to make decisions on purely professional problems and providing incentives to encourage them to use the new policy in ways acceptable to the Party. Official encouragement for glasnost and perestroika has struck a responsive chord in librarians and a more relaxed working atmosphere has been achieved; questions hitherto untouched can be raised and a shift towards innovation and the adoption of modern librarianship methods are now demanded. Thus, reform is sanctioned and encouraged within the framework of the guiding principles of Marxism-Leninism upon which Soviet librarianship was founded.

### Conditioned Responses

One thing that remains unchanged under Gorbachev is the reflex response of librarianship literature to the message of the Party congress. The fact of continuity is highlighted by the similarity of wording and formulation in publications reacting to the Twenty-Seventh and earlier Party congresses. Exactly as all other forthcoming congresses had been welcomed by professional publications, so was Gorbachev's—'To the Twenty-Seventh CPSU

<sup>3</sup> 'Prakticheskimi delami uglubliat' perestroiku', *Pravda*, 15 July 1987, pp. 1, 2 (p. 2).

<sup>4</sup> P. Kapitsa, 'Nauka i obshchestvo', *Kommunist*, 1987, no. 13, pp. 79–89 (p. 89).

<sup>5</sup> S. L. Tikhvinskii, 'Zadachi dal'neishego sovershenstvovaniia koordinatsii istoricheskikh issledovanii', *Novaia i noveishaia istoriia*, 1987, no. 2, pp. 13–25 (p. 24).

Congress—a worthy welcome (*dostoinuiu vstrechu*)!'.<sup>6</sup> After the Congress the common denominator of articles was the pledge of librarians to fulfil its resolutions.<sup>7</sup> Adaptability was not needed; a flow of articles began simultaneously to be published in professional journals, all built around a common ideological-political framework and applying the same stock phrases to different problems of librarianship. *Perestroika* was the favourite subject, and was presented as the master key to all aspects of Soviet librarianship, the answer to all its problems. Such a concentration of articles on this one theme would suggest that the theme was suggested, if not dictated, from above. *Perestroika* became the watchword of Soviet librarianship. Broadening the functions of the public library and raising its social role can be achieved through *perestroika*.<sup>8</sup> *Perestroika* penetrates higher librarianship education,<sup>9</sup> bibliography,<sup>10</sup> the style and methods of library work<sup>11</sup> and library affairs in general.<sup>12</sup> As in the past, librarians received 'recommendations' on how to propagandize and propagate the materials of the Congress,<sup>13</sup> how to rewrite textbooks in the light of its resolutions.<sup>14</sup> Professors in librarianship were mobilized to publish synopses for lectures on how to develop librarianship in conformity with the Twenty-Seventh Congress,<sup>15</sup> and all-union<sup>16</sup> and

<sup>6</sup> *Sovetskoe bibliotekovedenie*, 1986, no. 1, p. 3.

<sup>7</sup> *Sovetskoe bibliotekovedenie*, 1986, no. 2, p. 3.

<sup>8</sup> A. Lenitskaite, 'Kriterii perestroiki', *Bibliotekar'*, 1986, no. 9, pp. 16–18.

<sup>9</sup> V. I. Tereshin, 'Puti perestroiki spetsial'nykh distsiplin v sisteme vysshego bibliotechno-bibliograficheskogo obrazovaniia', *Nauchnye i tekhnicheskie biblioteki SSSR*, 1987, no. 6, pp. 3–8.

<sup>10</sup> N. S. Kartashov, S. I. Korovitsyna and E. O. Maio-Znak, 'Bibliografia i perestroika', *Sovetskaia bibliografia*, 1987, no. 6, pp. 11–20.

<sup>11</sup> G. Chumikova, 'Slovo k kollegam', *Bibliotekar'*, 1988, no. 3, pp. 36–8.

<sup>12</sup> A. I. Pashin, 'Uglubliat' perestroiku', *Sovetskoe bibliotekovedenie*, 1988, no. 1, pp. 3–12.

<sup>13</sup> I. Ganitskaia, 'I slovom i delom', *Bibliotekar'*, 1986, no. 4, pp. 8, 9. E. O. Maio-Znak and V. A. Fokeev, 'Propaganda materialov XXVII S''ezda KPSS v universal'nykh nauchnykh bibliotekakh', *Sovetskaia bibliografia*, 1986, no. 3, pp. 36–46. E. I. Berezkina, 'Propagande materialov XXVII S''ezda KPSS—vnimanie bibliotek', *Nauchnye i tekhnicheskie biblioteki SSSR*, 1987, no. 4, pp. 3, 4. *XXVII S''ezd KPSS i aktual'nye voprosy formirovaniia bibliotechnykh fondov. Sbornik nauchnykh trudov Gosudarstvennoi publichnoi biblioteki im. M. E. Saltykova-Shchedrina* (Leningrad, 1987), 159 pp.

<sup>14</sup> A. S. Chachko, 'Sistema izdanii po bibliotechnomu delu v SSSR: problemy izucheniiia i sovershenstvovaniia v svete reshenii XXVII S''ezda KPSS', *Nauchnye i tekhnicheskie biblioteki SSSR*, 1986, no. 12, pp. 9–13.

<sup>15</sup> G. P. Fonotov, *Razvitie bibliotechnogo dela v svete reshenii XXVII S''ezda KPSS: konspekt lektsii* (Moscow, 1987).

<sup>16</sup> E. A. Dorfman, 'Meditinskie biblioteki v period perestroiki. (Po materialam vsesoiuznogo soveshchaniia-seminara "Sostoianie i puti perestroiki deiatel'nosti meditsinskikh bibliotek", Riazan', iiun' 1987)', *Nauchnye i tekhnicheskie biblioteki SSSR*, 1987, no. 11, pp. 12–17. I. K. Nazmutdinov, 'Biblioteki na putiakh perestroiki. (Po materialam vsesoiuznogo soveshchaniia aktiva bibliotechnykh rabotnikov "Realizatsiia bibliotekami strany reshenii XXVII S''ezda KPSS", Moskva, noiabr' 1986)', *Sovetskaia bibliografia*, 1987, no. 2, pp. 78–82. S. V. Petrova, 'Uroki professional'nogo razgovora: o vsesoiuznoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii "Puti perestroiki nauchno-issledovatel'skoi raboty po bibliotechnomu delu v svete reshenii XXVII S''ezda KPSS", Moskva, 1986', *Nauchnye i tekhnicheskie biblioteki SSSR*, 1987, no. 3, pp. 22–8.

republican<sup>17</sup> conferences and questionnaires<sup>18</sup> were devoted to the same problem. Librarians were called upon to transmit to the populace Gorbachev's proposals for reform in all spheres of Soviet life, be it agriculture,<sup>19</sup> the new Five-Year Plan<sup>20</sup> or education.<sup>21</sup>

### CPSU Resolutions on Librarianship

Another clear example of continuity can be seen in the special resolutions of the CPSU directly concerning Soviet librarianship. Going through the last three main resolutions on librarianship, those of 1959,<sup>22</sup> 1974<sup>23</sup> and 1986,<sup>24</sup> we notice the (unsuccessful) attempts to make each one appear different from the last, while at the same time presenting it as a logical development of what went before. In fact, they are all similar in format and content: they focus on the same points, recognizing some of the achievements of Soviet librarianship, criticizing the current state of affairs, blaming relevant agencies for the non-fulfilment of Party objectives and issuing new instructions in accordance with the latest Party line. In all of them, political directives take the form of command-administrative acts with specific deadlines, not recognizing that the main problems of Soviet librarianship were created by just such commands, dictated from above without consideration for local conditions and possibilities.

*Sovershenstvovanie deiatel'nosti bibliotek sistemy prosveshcheniya po bibliotechno-bibliograficheskому obsluzhivaniyu rabotnikov narodnogo obrazovaniya v svete reshenii XXVII S"ezda KPSS* (Tezisy dokladov i soobshchenii na vsesoiuznoi nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii, 17–19 noiabr', 1987, Tashkent), sostavitel' G. B. Chulkina (Moscow, 1987). 'Vsesoiuznaia nauchno-prakticheskaiia konferentsiiia "Puti perestroiki nauchno-issledovatel'skoi raboty po bibliotekonomu delu v svete reshenii XXVII S"ezda KPSS"', *Bibliotekar'*, 1989, no. 2, p. 56.

<sup>17</sup> *Aktual'nye problemy bibliotekovedeniia, bibliografovedeniia i istorii knigi Moldavii v svete reshenii XXVII S"ezda KPSS i XVI S"ezda Kompartii Moldavii* (Tezisy vystuplenii na respublikanskoj nauchno-prakticheskoi konferentsii, 28.III.1987) (Kishinev, 1987).

<sup>18</sup> K. I. Abramov, A. V. Sokolov and K. A. Sinkiavichius, 'Perestroika i bibliotechnaia nauka glazami uchenykh (Otvety na anketu redaktsii nauchnogo sbornika "Sovetskoe bibliotekovedenie")', *Sovetskoe bibliotekovedenie*, 1988, no. 4, pp. 3–16; 1988, no. 5, pp. 3–9.

<sup>19</sup> 'Kursom novoi agrarnoi politiki. Ob uchastii bibliotek v propagande i realizatsii reshenii martovskogo Plenuma TsK KPSS', *Bibliotekar'*, 1989, no. 5, pp. 2, 3.

<sup>20</sup> L. I. Kushtanina, 'Biblioteki v novoi piatiletke', *Sovetskoe bibliotekovedenie*, 1986, no. 2, pp. 3–14. N. P. Igumnova and T. Ia. Kuznetsova, 'Bibliograficheskaiia deiatel'nost' bibliotek v 12-oi piatiletke i do 2000 g.', *Sovetskaia bibliografiia*, 1986, no. 2, pp. 5–14. E. A. Fenelonov, 'Massovye biblioteki v dvenadtsatoi piatiletke: razvitiie seti i sovershenstvovanie deiatel'nosti', *Aktual'nye voprosy bibliotechnoi raboty*, 1987, pp. 3–17.

<sup>21</sup> 'Ideologiiu obnovleniia—v deiatel'nost' bibliotek', *Bibliotekar'*, 1988, no. 5, pp. 2–4.

<sup>22</sup> 'O sostoianii i merakh uluchsheniia bibliotechnogo dela v SSSR. Postanovlenie TsK KPSS, 22.IX.1959', in *KPSS o kul'ture, prosveshchenii i nauke* (Moscow, 1963), pp. 274–81.

<sup>23</sup> 'V Tsentral'nom Komitete KPSS. O povyshenii roli bibliotek v kommunisticheskem vospitanii trudiashchikhsia i nauchno-tehnicheskem progresse', *Bibliotekar'*, 1974, no. 7, pp. 2–4.

<sup>24</sup> 'Osnovnye napravleniia razvitiia bibliotechnogo dela na 1986–1990 goda i na period do 2000 goda', in Fenelonov (note 20), pp. 3–14.

Criticisms which recur are: book collections and library operations are inadequate to meet present-day requirements; librarianship has failed to move with the times; the growing interest of readers in politics, science, technology and belles-lettres is not satisfied; lack of bibliographies and reference sources; poor organization of book promotion programmes; many libraries lacking their own buildings, reading rooms being located in unsuitable premises. The resolutions also inveigh against lack of supervision and coordination, the deplorable quality of librarianship education and librarians' low professional and political-ideological standards. The one and only, but very important, difference between the 1959 and 1974 resolutions and the 1986 resolution is the direction of criticism. The first two blame librarians and institutions responsible for librarianship affairs for the non-fulfilment of Party directives aimed at improving the situation. In the 1986 resolution criticism is directed against government and Party bureaucratism, stagnation, obsolete methodology, overdependence on administrative organs, librarians' lack of personal independence, and bad working practices.

The ultimate political objectives of the 1986 resolution are identical to those of the previous two, and many of the reactions of the profession to the resolution are reminiscent of earlier times. Much energy is absorbed by and many activities are concentrated on the Twenty-Seventh Party Congress, the promulgator of the resolution. As an answer to intolerable stagnation in the Brezhnev period, recommendations for library work and books to 'help readers to understand Marxist-Leninist theories' are being prepared;<sup>25</sup> public libraries are active in the propagation of Congress material;<sup>26</sup> on any thematical enquiry, the librarian recommends 'first of all' Congress publications and Gorbachev's works.<sup>27</sup> The 1988 issue of the Lenin Library's theoretical-instructional annual *Aktual'nye voprosy bibliotechnoi raboty* illuminates the main tasks of libraries 'in the light of the resolutions of the Congress',<sup>28</sup> tasks ranging from library administration through reading guidance to book collections. Publications thematically linked with Gorbachev's Congress receive priority in technical and public services and readers' catalogues are supposed to reflect only the latest editions, mainly published since Gorbachev assumed office.<sup>29</sup> The promulgation of one resolution after another, each repeating the same shortcomings, palpably

<sup>25</sup> Fenelonov (note 20), p. 9.

<sup>26</sup> L. A. Genshaft, 'Rabota TsBS s uchiteliami', *Aktual'nye voprosy bibliotechnoi raboty*, 1987, pp. 116-28 (p. 124).

<sup>27</sup> G. E. Mironov, 'Ispol'zovanie rekomendatel'nykh bibliograficheskikh posobii v propagande proizvedenii K. Marks'a, F. Engel'sa, V. I. Lenina', *Aktual'nye voprosy bibliotechnoi raboty*, 1987, pp. 40-51 (p. 47).

<sup>28</sup> 'Aktual'nye voprosy bibliotechnoi raboty, 1988', *Novye knigi*, 1987, no. 13, p. 1.

<sup>29</sup> E. R. Sukiasian, 'Aktual'naia politicheskaiia informatsiia v katalogakh i kartotekakh', *Aktual'nye voprosy bibliotechnoi raboty*, 1987, pp. 153-8 (pp. 154, 155).

demonstrates that these resolutions are ineffectual and fail to produce fundamental changes within the time limits which they dictate.

### Glasnost and the Slow Progress of Perestroika

The impotence of administrative orders, even when they reflect more liberal attitudes, is vividly illustrated by the unvarnished picture of Soviet librarianship which has emerged since the advent of glasnost. Glasnost and chance served to uncover severe shortcomings in the running of the Lenin Library when in 1986 the construction of the new Borovitskaia Metro Station shook its foundations and caused a crack in its oldest building, Pashkov dom. In two articles by the journalist Ol'ga Chaikovskaia,<sup>30</sup> followed by a heated public discussion organized by the Moscow organization of the RSFSR Union of Writers,<sup>31</sup> all of which were given large spreads in *Literaturnaia gazeta*, the administrators of the Lenin Library were taken to task not only for their negligence in the matter of the damage caused to Pashkov dom and their unwillingness to accept responsibility for it, but also for the 'weakening of the role of the Lenin Library as a scientific and cultural institution'.<sup>32</sup> Particular criticism was levelled at the heads of the Department of Manuscripts, which was followed up some two years later by an open letter from Soviet scholars addressed to the Minister of Culture.<sup>33</sup> Over the last ten years, they said, they had observed both a decline in scholarly standards and a decreasing degree of glasnost; many manuscripts had been either consigned to the *spetskhran* or classified as 'for limited access' and entire archives, including that of Bulgakov, had been withdrawn from researchers. The signatories also claimed that repeated appeals for reform in the Department of Manuscripts from the scholarly community had been ignored, possibly because the Lenin Library had for a long time been 'outside the zone of criticism'. In the selection of a suitable candidate as head of department they called for 'wide and open discussion', as opposed to the practice of 'secret selection' (*keleinogo podbora*), which was used in 1981 'in conditions of a total lack of glasnost', and again in late 1987. In his reply, the Minister of Culture admitted that 'serious shortcomings and breaches' in the Department of Manuscripts had been known about since 1978.<sup>34</sup>

In correspondence ensuing from the *Literaturnaia gazeta* reports, the Library was further criticized for not allowing its readers access to many of

<sup>30</sup> Ol'ga Chaikovskaia, 'Sdvig', *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 26 March 1986, p. 11, and 'Soprotivlenie', *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 26 November 1986, p. 12.

<sup>31</sup> 'Uroki glasnosti i demokratizma. Vokrug glavnoi biblioteki. Treshchina snaruzhi ... i treshchina vnutri', *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 11 March 1987, p. 12.

<sup>32</sup> Chaikovskaia, 'Soprotivlenie' (note 30).

<sup>33</sup> 'Izbrat' nakonets dostoynykh. Otkrytoe pis'mo Ministru kul'tury tov. V. G. Zakharovu', *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 28 January 1988, p. 2.

<sup>34</sup> 'Ministr otvechaet', *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 25 May 1988, p. 2.

the books in its collections. D. S. Likhachev accused the director of the Library and the heads of the Manuscripts Department of resorting to 'political demagogy' to defend their position and of 'being against changes so much needed by us all'. He objected to 'people indifferent to cultural and national values taking upon themselves the right to decide which books we can read and which not'.<sup>35</sup> Another correspondent estimated that about one and a half million books in Russian were not reflected in the public catalogues, while the sociologists L. D. Gudkov and B. V. Dubin of the All-Union Book Chamber claimed that the staff catalogue (not including periodicals) had over two thousand more drawers than the public catalogue, which meant that nearly five million books were not available to the Library's users.<sup>36</sup> The author of the article received an unsigned letter from 'staff of the Lenin Library' supporting their director, but she also received telephone calls from other members of staff wishing to endorse the criticisms, but afraid of losing their jobs by doing so openly.

I dwell on this state of affairs in the Soviet national library, the ideological and methodological centre of Soviet librarianship and its pride and glory, since it illuminates what may well be the situation of other libraries, large and small. In March 1986 historians bewailed the fact that the Ministry of Culture seemed to respond somewhat 'sluggishly' to the 'needs and misfortunes' of the State Public Historical Library, a library without which 'we historians find it impossible to work'.<sup>37</sup> (From 1985 the library was forced to introduce a 'restricted service' because of the lamentable state of its building.<sup>38</sup>) Conditions were slightly improved by the opening of the library's new extension in 1988. However, physical conditions apart, debate continued about the role and functions of the library. A 1979 Ministry of Culture resolution had prescribed that the 'Istorichka' should take on the functions of a methodological centre for the guidance of other libraries of the RSFSR, i.e. that it should divert some of its resources into the preparation of mass-*tirazh* recommedatory bibliographies on socio-political themes such as alcoholism, rural conditions, etc. This, it was claimed, resulted in a dilution of its traditional functions, such as the compilation of serious bibliographies on history, an area of expertise for which it was renowned in the past. Following a

<sup>35</sup> 'Uroki' (note 31).

<sup>36</sup> 'Uroki' (note 31). Catalogues are discussed in Boris Korsch, 'The Role of Catalogs in Soviet Libraries', in *Proceedings of the Second International Conference of Slavic Librarians and Information Specialists*, edited by Marianna Tax Choldin (New York, 1986), pp. 210–41.

<sup>37</sup> Z. V. Udal'tsova and N. P. Kalmykov, 'Itogi i perspektivy izucheniiia vseobshchsei istorii v svete reshenii XXVII S'ezda KPSS', *Novaia i noveishaiia istoriia*, 1986, no. 3, pp. 3–20 (p. 19).

<sup>38</sup> A. P. Shikman, 'V rezhime ogranicennogo obsluzhivaniia', *Sovetskaia bibliografia*, 1988, no. 2, pp. 10–15. Vil' Dorofeev, 'Vot takaia istoriia', *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 2 March 1989, p. 13, and 'Vot takaia istoriia: ofitsial'nyi otvet i pis'ma chitatelei', *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 14 September 1988, p. 12.

discussion held by the collegium of the Ministry of Culture in October 1988 and entitled 'On measures for perfecting the activity and strengthening the material-technical basis of the State Public Historical Library', this question had still not been fully resolved.<sup>39</sup> Nevertheless, the debate does appear to have been conducted in conditions of glasnost. The Ministry of Culture discussion was attended by librarians, historians and journalists.

In the last two years reports have been published about even worse conditions in libraries away from the centre. Vandalism is rife in the State Library of the Uzbek SSR.<sup>40</sup> A low standard of public service, poor performance of librarians, the parlous state of the book repository and vandalism are reported in the Tadjik Public Library.<sup>41</sup> In the majority of the thousand libraries of the Kazakh SSR librarians are said to show no initiative in adopting new working methods, and of 8000 state libraries only eighteen are housed in purpose-built buildings. Ninety settlements have no library, and only fifteen per cent of libraries have telephone services.<sup>42</sup> The State Library of the Latvian SSR has been waiting since 1945 for its own building, readers have no access to one third of the collections, and because of lack of proper conditions 300,000 books are in immediate danger of perishing.<sup>43</sup> A disastrous situation reigns in the libraries of many republics.<sup>44</sup> In contrast with the general state of affairs, one 'success story' is that of the Vernadskii Central Scientific Library in Kiev, which during the last three years has managed to bring speedily to fruition a project which had previously been dragging on for ten years—the construction of a new library building. The splendid new building was opened on 10 October 1989, and future plans include the introduction of automation, the setting up of a republican preservation centre and the compilation of a retrospective catalogue of *Ucrainica*, to include publications in Ukrainian and on the Ukraine from all over the world.<sup>45</sup>

At a session held in Tallinn in November 1987, departmental heads of the inspectorates of library affairs of the ministries of culture of the union republics and the directors of state republican libraries<sup>46</sup> acknowledged the kind of deficiencies enumerated above and outlined what they considered to

<sup>39</sup> 'Mneniia razdelilis', *Bibliotekar*, 1989, no. 3, pp. 30, 31.

<sup>40</sup> E. Berezikov, 'Spasite knigu. Slovo pisatelia', *Pravda Vostoka*, 28 July 1988.

<sup>41</sup> S. Khokhlov, 'O gordosti—poka bez gordosti. Pochemu ne soblazniaet chitatelei porazitel'naia dostupnost' sokrovishch biblioteki respubliki', *Kommunist Tadzhikistana*, 20 August 1987, p. 4.

<sup>42</sup> 'Shkola poznaniia i vospitaniia', *Kazakhstanskaia pravda*, 11 September 1987 (editorial).

<sup>43</sup> L. Zheglova, 'Snova rokovoe "ili"', *Sovetskaia Latviia*, 24 November 1987, p. 2.

<sup>44</sup> L. Reznikov and S. Iagimirova, 'Spasat' ili spisat', *Kazakhstanskaia pravda*, 8 August 1987, p. 2.

<sup>45</sup> V. S. Fedoruk, 'Katalizator dukhovnosti', *Kommunist Ukrayny*, 1989, no. 9, pp. 62–9.

<sup>46</sup> 'Problemy i resheniia', *Bibliotekar*, 1988, no. 1, p. 13.

be the major problems of Soviet librarianship: the deplorably low level of librarians' general education and professional training (a third of librarians working in state public libraries have no special library education); unsatisfactory book stocks; weak propaganda of books and reading guidance; a lagging behind in modern working methods. A pragmatic resolution adopted at ministerial level by the session demanded perestroika in librarianship affairs, repeating the resolution passed by the Twenty-Seventh Congress. It was admitted that the process of perestroika in Soviet librarianship 'proceeds extremely slowly' and discontent with its slow progress was expressed at another session at the Ministry of Culture in December 1988.<sup>47</sup> A demand was made again for 'the strengthening of the role of libraries in the ideological fulfilment of perestroika and democratization'. Forecasts made in the 1986 resolution have not been realized, and it has resulted in a typical chronic failure, as did the resolutions of 1959 and 1974. It is remarkable, but not surprising, that after more than seventy years Soviet librarianship is still being urged to tackle its old/new unresolved problems.

### The Soviet Librarian

Given that the political control of the CPSU is the *sine qua non* of the existence and functioning of Soviet librarianship, then the Soviet librarian must be seen as a tool, not required to concern himself or herself with the ends of his or her profession, which are formulated or reformulated by the Party, but only to realize those ends, using means which are also dictated from above. The requirement for full obedience to political dictates has tended to develop in the librarian apathy, devotion to routine, and scepticism about anything new. Often, personal security has come before professional interests, and librarians are frequently torn between the Party's ideological demands and the requirements of everyday, practical needs. No wonder then that in their work they may tend towards caution, militating against any individual or local initiative. Always dependent on and answerable to higher professional authorities, librarians have become accustomed to not taking responsibility for their daily work. In the selection of personnel for responsible professional and administrative positions, political reliability has always been a prime criterion.

The first general book on the profession of librarian appeared only in 1985, and here it was described as 'one of the largest but most little-studied professions in the cultural-educational and scientific-information sphere'.<sup>48</sup> A Soviet member of the profession bewailed the fact that the popular

<sup>47</sup> 'O khode perestroiki bibliotechnogo dela', *Bibliotekar'*, 1989, no. 4, pp. 17–18.

<sup>48</sup> 'A. S. Chachko, Bibliotechnyi spetsialist: osobennosti truda i professionalizatsii (Kiev, 1985)', *Novye knigi*, 1984, no. 38, p. 74.

stereotype of librarians is of 'modest, dependable workers, quite often having a lower than average mental outlook, handers out of books—almost a free-of-charge supplement to the book collections'.<sup>49</sup> While observing that such librarians were needed in the last decades, she affirms that, 'as the times demand', the stage of perestroika requires initiative from below, and says that the librarian should not 'wait for bold and long-awaited resolutions from above'.

Stalin did not trust professional librarians and imposed his rigid set of ideas on them. Khrushchev permitted some doctrinal relaxation, and during his time Soviet librarians started to get in touch with their Western colleagues, but his short era brought no institutional or professional changes. In Brezhnev's period, the stifling atmosphere of doctrinal-theoretical ideas, together with the halt in de-Stalinization, accentuated the poor performance of Soviet librarianship. Gorbachev lessened the regimentation, and began the process of transforming civil servants working in this field into professional librarians.

Glasnost and perestroika have brought about a reappraisal of where a decision should be made, what should be the criteria which guide it, and what information is necessary for its basis. It is now suggested that decisions should be made locally, within the library itself, that they should be based on the ideological-political needs of the moment and that they should be informed by the criticism and self-criticism of the librarians themselves. A librarian states that, in the past, 'instead of guidance and control by the department of culture there was petty surveillance and administrative interference; departments of culture would determine for the librarian not only the problems to be solved, but also the forms of working with the public, the number of book exhibitions, surveys, public readings, etc.'. The author of these words calls for more realistic targets to be set and appraised by librarians themselves, and for them to be allowed to control the quality of their own work at every stage.<sup>50</sup> Another author proposes more freedom for librarians in book selection and suggests that they should be responsible for the quality of their selection, to be measured by the amount of use of each book. For example, in an ordinary public library the aim should be to select only books which will be requested at least ten to fifteen times.<sup>51</sup> This suggests more independence than in the past, when acquisitions were done strictly in accordance with book lists compiled by the Lenin Library, regardless of local needs and interests. (However, repeated instructions to acquire and disseminate the materials of

<sup>49</sup> O. Kniaz'kova, 'Khvatit zhdat'—pora deistvovat', *Bibliotekar'*, 1988, no. 12, p. 40.

<sup>50</sup> S. G. Matlina, 'Puti sovershenstvovaniia massovykh form raboty s chitateliami TsBS', *Aktual'nye voprosy bibliotechnoi raboty*, 1987, pp. 55–6.

<sup>51</sup> Fenelonov (note 20), p. 13.

the Twenty-Seventh Congress still mean that such publications must feature prominently in acquisition profiles.)

One dilemma which has always faced the Soviet librarian, in particular the public librarian, is having to cope with the fulfilment of unrealistic targets set from above and having to collect and present for inspection detailed statistical reports to show that targets have been realized. Now, as in the past, statistical data on acquisitions and readership must be compiled and then passed through a long chain of control, inspected at local, regional and central level. In order to make it appear that targets have been reached, statistics are massaged at every level of inspection, and librarians are called upon to collude in this exercise. The falsification of statistics is an accepted practice at all stages of the library process, from publishing houses, through distribution of books to libraries by library supply agencies, acquisition by libraries to book circulation. In particular, phony and padded statistical reports are compiled for ideological-political publications. Furthermore, the fact that such books lie unread on library shelves does not, in the judgement of Party officials, testify to lack of demand but to a failure on the part of the librarian in providing adequate reading guidance, a result of his or her low level of professional and political education. Since there is no way of really measuring the effect of books borrowed on Soviet readers, success is measured in purely quantitative terms. The practice of making librarians interview readers about the books they have read and then record their opinions has become a formalistic exercise, serving only to increase the amount of paperwork. (This task, incidentally, is becoming increasingly difficult to fulfil, since the present-day reader, according to recent research, is happy to ask the librarian for advice on how to use the library, but reluctant to seek advice on what to read and even more reluctant to discuss with the librarian and to 'seek, with his help, a correct assessment of what he has read'.)<sup>52</sup> Thus inflated statistics become the rule, not the exception.

Librarians are beginning to rebel against such practices in the interest of professional self-respect. They cite specific examples of malpractice and demand the setting of more realistic targets which can be honestly fulfilled. The director of Children's Public Library No. 74 in the Perovskii district of Moscow describes how during Brezhnev's regime she and her colleagues were forced to achieve the magic, officially required number of sixteen thousand books through the acquisition of unnecessary publications, since the publications which they needed were unobtainable, and how local department of culture officials 'literally forced' librarians to stamp fictitious lendings on books in order to 'avoid unpleasantness from their inspectors in the Main

<sup>52</sup> V. I. Pudov, 'Beseda s chitateliami', *Aktual'nye voprosy bibliotechnoi raboty*, 1987, pp. 68–80 (p. 71).

Cultural Administration'.<sup>53</sup> A Lithuanian librarian inveighs against the practice of using 'dead souls' to inflate readership figures.<sup>54</sup> The publication of such instances in the journal *Bibliotekar'* (an organ of the Ministry of Culture) and, indeed, in *Pravda* would indicate official support for reform. In 1988 *Bibliotekar'* published a long piece, consisting of some of its readers' responses to its 'October Questionnaire' which asked: 'How do you evaluate the process of perestroika in librarianship?'.<sup>55</sup> In their replies, they underline decades of inattention to library needs and speak openly about bureaucratism and falsification. However, librarians often encounter resistance to reform locally, from their administrators. Librarians in a lending department resolved 'to give up fabrications' as from 1987 and to register only real lendings, but the drop in statistics angered the administration and, on the director's orders, librarians continued to dupe.<sup>56</sup> Nevertheless, it is evident that working librarians are abandoning their attitude of passivity and resignation and are ready to take responsibility for reform into their own hands.

### Political Control of Personnel

Gorbachev's campaign for the election rather than the nomination of Party officials and his stated determination to lessen their absolute control and make them responsible to the voters has not changed the nature of their control over librarians. All major Soviet libraries have their own primary party committee—a 'communist cell' with smaller 'cells' in the various library departments. Smaller libraries are linked to such 'cells' in the institutions which they serve. A Party cell is headed by a secretary appointed by the CPSU. He works in the library in a political capacity and has jurisdiction over the library's political, professional and cultural activities. He is largely responsible for selecting and assigning librarians to important posts, and is in a position to elevate and reward or to downgrade, punish and even to dismiss non-conformist librarians. In turn, his work is checked and cross-checked by the Party echelons above him. To be on the safe side, even librarians in top positions tend to refer some librarianship matters to the Party authorities. When there is a need to seek advice or decisions from professionals or subject specialists, it is always the Party's nominees who are summoned. There is no doubt that, in this respect, continuity reigns. As in 1978 when the head of the Lenin Library Manuscripts Department was reprimanded by the Party for

<sup>53</sup> N. Erastova, 'Pod shorokh bumag. Pis'mo bibliotekaria', *Pravda*, 23 November 1986, p. 3.

<sup>54</sup> B. Keris, 'Chto nam meshaet?', *Bibliotekar'*, 1988, no. 1, pp. 28, 29. The author quotes from the Lithuanian journal *Biblioteku darbas*, 1986, no. 11, p. 2.

<sup>55</sup> 'Oktiabr'skaia anketa "Bibliotekaria"', *Bibliotekar'*, 1988, no. 11, pp. 2-10.

<sup>56</sup> L. Shumilova, 'Daite rabotat' chestno!', *Bibliotekar'*, 1988, no. 8, p. 13.

irregularities,<sup>57</sup> so, ten years later under Gorbachev, it was the regional Party Committee which pointed out 'the considerable neglect' in the work of the heads of that same department.<sup>58</sup>

However, some hard-won departures from previous practice have been reported. On the basis of the 'Law on State Enterprises',<sup>59</sup> which makes provision for the election of the director of an enterprise by the 'labour collective', librarians have been pressing, in some cases successfully, for their directors to be elected rather than appointed. In 1988 a librarians' candidate was elected to the post of director of the Dnepropetrovsk Centralized Network of Children's Libraries and the role of the Party was only to confirm her appointment.<sup>60</sup> Even more historic were the elections for the important post of director of the State Public Historical Library, held on 24 January 1989. In the words of a Ministry of Culture official, 'this is the first time in the history of the Russian Federation that such an election has taken place in the library world'.<sup>61</sup> She paid tribute to the role played by the library's newly founded Staff Council (*Sovet trudovogo kollektiva*) in working out the electoral procedure, but also emphasized the role of the Party organization and the Komsomol.

Gorbachev's reforms do envisage looser and more broadly-based forms of control. For instance, it is proposed that different libraries' working methods should be coordinated by subject specialists and Party organs, also that working groups should be nominated, and staffed by 'qualified people educated in librarianship and experienced in party-political work'.<sup>62</sup>

Individual librarians remain under stringent control: personal record cards kept on individual employees must reflect not only socio-demographic data, family status and working record, but also their 'public activity', meaning party membership, and political and social zeal, in professional and private life.<sup>63</sup>

### **Librarians' Associations: A Movement for Change**

Since L. B. Khavkina's unsuccessful attempt, in the early days of Soviet power, to organize librarians' associations at the largest libraries (with

<sup>57</sup> 'Ministr otvechaet' (note 34).

<sup>58</sup> 'Izbrat' (note 33).

<sup>59</sup> *Zakon SSSR o gosudarstvennom predpriiatii (ob 'edinenii)*. Prinят на сед'moi sessii Verkhovnogo Soveta SSSR odinnadtsatogo sozyva 30 iiunia 1987 g. (Moscow, 1987), 64 pp.

<sup>60</sup> 'Direktor vybran!', *Bibliotekar'*, 1988, no. 4, p. 16.

<sup>61</sup> 'STK v bibliotekakh: byt' ili ne byt?', *Sovetskaia bibliografiia*, 1989, no. 3, pp. 3-6 (p. 4). See also 'Marafon finishiroval?...', *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 8 February 1989, p. 20.

<sup>62</sup> Sukiasian (note 29), pp. 155-7.

<sup>63</sup> L. M. Minina, 'Planirovanie sotsial'nogo razvitiia kollektiva biblioteki', *Aktual'nye voprosy bibliotechnoi raboty*, 1987, pp. 29-39 (p. 31).

political education as their primary purpose),<sup>64</sup> no such organizations have ever existed. Unlike members of other cultural professions in the USSR, librarians have no union to bind them together or to provide a forum for exchanging ideas, learning from one another's experience or defending their professional interests. Maybe the reason for this lies in the fact that librarians, unlike writers or musicians, have never rebelled against Party control, therefore there was no need, from the Party's point of view, to create a union which could be used as a two-edged weapon, having the semblance of a professional organization but in reality being a means of exercising control over its members.

The first All-Union Congress of Soviet Librarians, held in 1924, did not produce a union and after that no general congresses have ever been held, only conferences, narrower in scope, either on specific topics or for specific groups of the profession. Under Stalin there was a sharp line of demarcation between work places and no professional contact between librarians from different libraries. Perestroika has led to a change. In June 1988 the Estonian Library Association which was originally founded in 1923 and disbanded in 1940 was re-formed,<sup>65</sup> in December of that year Lithuania followed suit<sup>66</sup> and in May 1989 the Library Association of Latvia was also reconstituted.<sup>67</sup> These associations are all organizations whose membership consists of librarians rather than of libraries. In 1988 professional journals began to describe, for the first time since 1926, Western models of such associations,<sup>68</sup> and in the same year the Plenum of the All-Union Library Council charged its bureau with the task of drawing up proposals for the setting up of an all-union library association. A draft document already compiled by the Lenin Library envisaged it as an association with collective rather than individual membership, i.e. as a federation of independent library associations which could be founded either on a regional basis or according to type of library and so on. Therefore the founding of the all-union association has to await the formation of those associations which will constitute its membership. Library associations already exist in Leningrad, Saratov and Moscow (the Moscow association was founded in December 1989) and there are plans for setting up such associations in the Ukraine, Armenia and other republics, as well as in

<sup>64</sup> L. B. Khavkina, *Rukovodstvo dlia nebol'sikh i srednikh bibliotek*, 5-e izd. (Moscow, 1926), p. 304.

<sup>65</sup> Aira Lepik, 'Estonian Librarians' Association Re-Founded', *Library Association Record*, January 1989, p. 8.

<sup>66</sup> *Sovetskaia bibliografia*, 1989, no. 2, p. 95.

<sup>67</sup> *Bibliotekars*, 5 May 1989.

<sup>68</sup> E. D. Melenevskaia and A. A. Teplova, 'Bibliotechnye assotsiatsii SShA i Velikobritanii', *Nauchnye i tekhnicheskie biblioteki SSSR*, 1988, no. 11, pp. 18-23.

cities and autonomous republics in many parts of the Soviet Union.<sup>69</sup>

Another more spontaneous and completely unprecedented kind of association, known to have been set up in at least three libraries, is the Staff Council (*Sovet trudovogo kollektiva* or STK). In 1987 some of the staff of the All-Union State Library of Foreign Literature (VGBIL), far from satisfied with their director's interpretation of perestroika, decided to take matters into their own hands and to take up 'the Party's challenge to democratically transform the whole of society' within their own library.<sup>70</sup> Encouraged by the recently passed 'Law on State Enterprises (Organizations)', which encourages workers to take the initiative and to actively participate in the running of their enterprise, they called a meeting on 6 February which passed a vote of no confidence on the then director L. A. Gvishiani-Kosygina (who took retirement shortly afterwards). They proceeded to elect a 'Commission on Perestroika of the Activity of VGBIL', consisting of members of staff whom they deemed to be most authoritative (including E. V. Pereslegina, internationally respected as a Vice-President of IFLA). On the basis of more than 360 submissions received, the commission drew up a document entitled 'The Main Directions for Perestroika of the Activities of VGBIL'.

The commission was also charged by the staff of the library to draw up a draft 'Statute for a VGBIL Staff Council'. The Staff Council was envisaged as a body which would participate in decision-making, one immediate decision on which its potential members had strong views being the method of selection of a new director. In May 1988 permission for the formation of a Staff Council was reluctantly granted by the new director (a former vice-director of the Lenin Library who had not been appointed through elections but in the usual way, by the Ministry of Culture). Thereafter its path was stormy. Its aspirations to concern itself with matters of policy (as provided for by the 'Law on State Enterprises') were not well received by the director, and in July it was struck a blow by the library's official trade union committee which voted that the Council should be scrapped and a new Statute drawn up. Following a petition signed by seventy-five trade union members, this decision was overthrown at a meeting of thirty-three members of staff and representatives from the library's Party and trade union committees. However, in October of the same year, a challenge to its existence came from higher up, in the form of a letter signed by a Vice-Minister of Culture and the

<sup>69</sup> 'Sovetskaia bibliotechnaia assotsiatsiia: kakoi ei byt?', *Bibliotekar'*, 1989, no. 5, p. 4. Evgenii Kuz'min, '“Zabrat' vse knigi by da szhech’”?', *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 13 December 1989, p. 6 (about the founding of the Moscow Library Association). 'Ustav Moskovskoi bibliotechnoi assotsiatsii: proekt', *Vestnik Sovetskogo fonda kul'tury*, 1989, no. 4, pp. 7–11.

<sup>70</sup> E. Iu. Genieva, 'Ukroshchenie stroptivykh', *Sovetskaia bibliografija*, 1989, no. 1, pp. 93–96 (p. 93).

Chairman of the Central Committee of Trade Unions of Cultural Workers.<sup>71</sup> This somewhat ambiguous letter, couched in impenetrable legalistic terms, inferred that the 'Law on State Enterprises' did not necessarily apply to state-funded organizations unless they were in a position to become self-financing, although 'it did not exclude the possibility in certain cases of electing a Staff Council in a state-funded organization'. It also pronounced that no Staff Council was valid unless its members had been elected in accordance with certain recommendations confirmed in February 1988 by the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Soviet of Ministers and the All-Union Central Soviet of Trade Unions.

However, the Foreign Literature Library Staff Council continued to function, albeit at loggerheads with the director of the library. Its activities and aspirations received strong support from the journal *Sovetskaia bibliografia*. In March 1989 a letter from some of its members was published in *Literaturnaia gazeta*, in which they set out the basis of their disagreement with the director on policy.<sup>72</sup> Conflict then deepened. In March 1989 several of the Staff Council members claimed that decisions made by a commission investigating the work of their department amounted to persecution. Two of them (one a signatory of the letter to *Literaturnaia gazeta*) had been pronounced not fitted for the posts which they held. One of them took the library to court and on 11 April twelve colleagues declared a strike in their support. The Moscow television evening news reported this event 'unprecedented in the history of Soviet libraries'.<sup>73</sup> On 19 April *Literaturnaia gazeta* published six letters expressing differing views on the theme 'Libraries and Culture', in which the particular case of VGBIL was debated as well as general issues.<sup>74</sup> Finally in November 1989 it was reported that, following an election, a new director had been appointed: 'For the first time in the last decades one of the major libraries of the country is headed not by a bureaucrat with a dissertation, sent from above, but by a well known scholar, a writer ... a People's Deputy ... who has great authority in the intellectual world.' The new director, Viacheslav Vsevolodovich Ivanov, announced his intention of working in harmony with the Staff Council: 'I see my main task not in giving orders and directives. We must come to an agreement with the Staff Council about a sensible distribution of responsibilities.'<sup>75</sup>

The staff of the State Public Historical Library, who also encountered opposition from the 'triangle' of director, library Party bureau and trade union committee when in 1988 they made a bid for open debate and for a say

<sup>71</sup> 'STK v bibliotekakh' (note 61), p. 3.

<sup>72</sup> 'Biblioteki i nauka', *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 11 January 1989, p. 5.

<sup>73</sup> 'STK v bibliotekakh' (note 61), p. 6.

<sup>74</sup> 'Biblioteki i kul'tura', *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 19 April 1989, p. 5.

<sup>75</sup> 'Zachem Inostranke takoi direktor?', *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 15 November 1989, p. 7.

in the running of their library,<sup>76</sup> now have a Staff Council which appears to be functioning unhindered—witness the fact that it too was instrumental in bringing about the appointment of its director through elections (see above). The Vernadskii Central Scientific Library in Kiev also has a flourishing Staff Council which is closely involved in decisions about day-to-day problems.<sup>77</sup>

### Library Purges

Purges of library collections are a recurrent feature throughout the history of Soviet librarianship.<sup>78</sup> However, following Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin at the Twentieth Party Congress, there began, in parallel with the rehabilitation of individuals, a quiet rehabilitation of repressed books, and during Khrushchev's thaw these books were taken out from the 'special collections' (*spetskhrany*) and returned to library shelves. Under Brezhnev 'Stalin's parameters of censorship were broadened and a good half of rehabilitated books were returned to the *spetskhrany*'.<sup>79</sup>

Gorbachev's thaw, his policies of *glasnost* and de-Stalinization have resulted in an official campaign for the large-scale rehabilitation of repressed publications, which has been widely reported and supported. Citing the example of the Pasternak episode, Voznesenskii condemned 'the epoch of oblivion of *glasnost*', 'when people had to condemn a work without having read it', and proclaimed that 'our people ... have a right to read and to make their own independent judgement about everything'.<sup>80</sup> The daily press has been full of announcements about books which have been brought out of the *spetskhrany*.<sup>81</sup> The journal *Voprosy istorii* has reported on which repressed authors can now be read in libraries;<sup>82</sup> *Bibliotekar'* recounts that ninety per cent of previously withdrawn books have been made available to readers in the Saltykov-Shchedrin Public Library, hails the opening up of the *spetskhrany* as 'the most important achievement of perestroika in the field of culture', and describes what is happening as a logical continuation of what was begun by

<sup>76</sup> 'STK v bibliotekakh' (note 61). See also 'Marafon' (note 61).

<sup>77</sup> Fedoruk (note 45), p. 65.

<sup>78</sup> Library purges are discussed in Boris Korsch, *The Permanent Purges of Soviet Libraries*, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Soviet and East European Research Centre, Research Paper 50 (Jerusalem, 1983).

<sup>79</sup> A. P. Shikman, 'Sovershenno ne sekretno', *Sovetskaia bibliografiia*, 1988, no. 6, pp. 3–16 (p. 6).

<sup>80</sup> A. Voznesenskii, 'Nakanune stoletiia poeta', *Literaturnaia gazeta*, 25 February 1987, p. 16.

<sup>81</sup> See, for example: Vladas Bulavas, 'Knigi iz spetsfondov: izdaniia, ranee zakrytye dlia obshchestvennogo pol'zovaniia v obshchie fondy', *Sovetskaia Litva*, 12 March 1988, p. 4; V. A. Solodin, 'Vozvrashcheno iz spetsfondov', *Sovetskaia kul'tura*, 22 March 1988, p. 8; E. Vrantseva, 'Ozhivshie stranitsy', *Turkmenskaia iskra*, 6 July 1988; B. Mironov, 'Otkryvaia dver' v "spetskhran"', *Pravda*, 10 September 1988; V. Solodin, 'Spetsfondov bol'she ne sushchestvuet', *Izvestiia*, 26 October 1988 (Moscow evening edition).

<sup>82</sup> Iu. A. Lukin, 'Perestroika, demokratizatsiia, khudozhestvennaia literatura', *Voprosy istorii*, 1988, no. 6, pp. 99–101.

Khrushchev.<sup>83</sup> The television programme 'Vremia' included an item on a Lenin Library exhibition of books released from its *spetskhran*, and *Sovetskaya bibliografiya* has published what is probably the first article on the history of the *spetskhran*.<sup>84</sup> This and more. 'Politizdat' and other publishing houses are beginning to republish books which were once repressed<sup>85</sup> and the *Novye knigi* prospectuses for 1990 advertise a new edition of the proceedings of the 'Fourteenth Congress of the All-Union Communist Party (b)' in which 'inaccuracies, mistakes and misprints of the 1926 [i.e. Stalin's] edition are eliminated'.<sup>86</sup>

Since 1988 *Sovetskaya bibliografiya* has included a section 'Bibliograficheskaya rehabilitatsiya', providing lists of works by and about rehabilitated personalities which may be returned to library shelves. Among those featured have been Kamenev, Bukharin, Galich, Shalamov and Zamiatin. The 'Iuridicheskaya literatura' publishing house now publishes a special serial *Vozvrashchenie k pravde—reabilitirovan posmertno* where lists of individuals are published, useful as a kind of certificate of clearance for the guidance of librarians. Perhaps most significant is the publication in *Kommunist*, the theoretical-ideological organ of the CPSU, of the declaration by a history professor at Leningrad University that the reader is by now capable of sorting out independently, without interpretation, what Trotsky wrote, and that there is no need any longer to pretend that the books which he published abroad do not exist. The author advocates the same approach towards the works of Zinov'ev, and even of Sukhanov (N. N. Sukhanov, 1882–1940, a Menshevik) and Denikin.<sup>87</sup>

Some articles written about the current rehabilitation of repressed books express reservations both about the way policy is decided and about the way in which it is being implemented. One aspect of the operation which has been criticized is the constitution of the commission which was set up to decide which books should be restored to the reading public. This commission (consisting of only seven people) is composed of representatives of the Main Administration for the Protection of State Secrets in the Press (Glavlit), the Ministry of Culture and the Lenin Library, i.e. of those very institutions which were responsible for deciding that the books should be locked away in the first place. There is no representative of any learned institution, no member of the general public.<sup>88</sup> This commission has issued lists of specific

<sup>83</sup> S. Varlamova, ‘“Spetskhran” bez tain’, *Bibliotekar'*, 1988, no. 12, pp. 24, 25.

<sup>84</sup> Shikman (note 79).

<sup>85</sup> 'Novoe v Politizdate—otvety direktora A. P. Poliakova', *Kommunist*, 1989, no. 1, pp. 121–3.

<sup>86</sup> *Novye knigi*, 1989, no. 12, p. 32.

<sup>87</sup> G. Sobolev, 'Vozvrashchenie k chitateliu', *Kommunist*, 1989, no. 3, pp. 124–6.

<sup>88</sup> Shikman (note 79), p. 9.

books which can be released and has also sent out more general guidelines on material not included in those lists, for example, material published abroad. A representative of Glavlit admits that implementation of the general guidelines can cause problems, since librarians are being slow to exercise their right to make decisions 'either because of a certain inertia in their way of thinking or because of a particular psychological timidity'.<sup>89</sup> A librarian in the Bashkir ASSR also points out the fact that centrally issued general guidelines are liable to be acted upon in different ways in different institutions or, in some cases, not acted upon at all, and suggests that instructions from the centre should be abolished and that local library authorities should be forced to make their own decisions about books in local *spetsfondy*.<sup>90</sup>

A difficulty for library users is finding out about books which have been released.<sup>91</sup> None of the major libraries appear to have plans to publish lists of rehabilitated books. The only such list known to have been issued, compiled by the 'Viatka Booklovers' Club' in Kirov and printed in 250 copies, has become known and used by scholars in many other towns.<sup>92</sup> However, perhaps the main cause for concern is the fact that certain categories of material will continue to be kept in the *spetskhrany* (without being listed in any public catalogue). Future publications which fall into these categories will also be sent there. Some categories which have been named are: books which give instructions on how to manufacture narcotics or explosives; books on karate; and nationalist, fascist, pornographic and anti-Soviet literature. Fears have been expressed that the criteria for withdrawing books will be kept deliberately vague so as to provide loopholes for withdrawing books which the authorities deem to be 'dangerous'.<sup>93</sup>

When discussing literature which is kept in the *spetskhrany*, 'we are talking not about books which are printed in millions of copies and sold freely in bookshops, but about a handful, at most ten copies, to be found only in the largest research libraries'.<sup>94</sup> By contrast, mass literature of a socio-political nature which is acquired in multiple copies by public libraries is still subject to another silent purge. In accordance with instructions from the Ministry of Culture 'on the procedure for the withdrawal of publications which are outdated in content or in poor physical condition',<sup>95</sup> librarians have been instructed to dispose of literature published in Brezhnev's time not for the reason that nobody wants to read it, but because it is 'morally outdated' and

<sup>89</sup> Solodin, 'Vozvrashcheno' (note 81).

<sup>90</sup> V. Korneev, 'Poluotvorennia dver', ili o vedomstvennoi priverzhennosti delat' iavnoe tainym', *Bibliotekar'*, 1989, no. 4, pp. 19–21 (p. 20).

<sup>91</sup> G. Malitskii, 'Imeni poka ne sushchestvuet', *Knizhnoe obozrenie*, 1989, no. 5, p. 7.

<sup>92</sup> Shikman (note 79), p. 8.

<sup>93</sup> Shikman (note 79), p. 10.

<sup>94</sup> Shikman (note 79), p. 5.

<sup>95</sup> N. Zagalskaya, 'Minus doverie', *V mire knig*, 1986, no. 3, pp. 54–6 (p. 54).

because the presence of a large quantity of it in libraries hinders librarians' work with 'better editions'.<sup>96</sup> These purges have to be carried out in the light of the resolutions of the Twenty-Seventh Congress, since the presence in libraries of publications which have been criticized by the Party is 'undoubtedly harmful'. This statement was made in an article about up-to-date political information in library catalogues by a Lenin Library theoretician, who talks of publications from Brezhnev's time which contained mistakes, and cites the example of anti-alcoholism pamphlets which referred to 'social wine-drinking' and 'tried to justify in economic terms the sale of alcoholic drinks'.<sup>97</sup>

In my research paper 'The Brezhnev Cult—Continuity', written before the convocation of the Twenty-Seventh Party Congress, I wrote: 'The written works of Brezhnev, Andropov and Chernenko will remain on the shelves of Soviet libraries till the day they are criticized or condemned by the current leader. Then we can expect a purge in the libraries.'<sup>98</sup> This proved to be correct. Although glasnost and perestroika call for new thinking, the current leader is pursuing the traditional tactics of discrediting his predecessors. In spite of criticism of 'depersonalization' (*obezlichivanie*)<sup>99</sup> and 'depopulizing' (*obezliudevshii*)<sup>100</sup> of historical research on the Soviet period and the Party, new Gorbachev-style 'white spots' are being quietly created. A librarian describes how, at a specially convened seminar, public librarians in the Crimea were instructed 'to withdraw from the collections, in accordance with the highest instances, the works of Brezhnev, Grishin, Suslov, Chernenko and a number of other writers, and, likewise, all political and economic literature published before March 1985, as being out-of-date in content and having lost its topicality'. It was also recommended that materials of the Twenty-Second to Twenty-Sixth Party Congresses should be removed from the shelves and that, in response to readers' enquiries, librarians should say that 'they were out on loan'. Thus, says the author of this letter to *Izvestiia*, 'while opening up archival materials of half a century ago, are we not creating new "white spots" in our most recent history?'.<sup>101</sup> It is likely that this purge will apply not only to the works of newly repressed personalities but also to books about them. Works quoting them will also be withdrawn, or revised and re-edited with such quotations removed. All this will necessitate new changes in Soviet

<sup>96</sup> Fenelonov (note 20), pp. 12, 13.

<sup>97</sup> Sukiasian (note 29), p. 157.

<sup>98</sup> Boris Korsch, *The Brezhnev Personality Cult (The Librarian's Point of View)*, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, The Marjorie Mayrock Center for Soviet and East European Research, Research Paper 65 (Jerusalem, 1987), p. 41.

<sup>99</sup> 'Doklad ... E. K. Ligacheva (Vsesoiuznoe soveshchanie zaveduiushchikh kafedram obshchestvennykh nauk)', *Kommunist*, 1986, no. 15, pp. 8–23 (p. 14).

<sup>100</sup> 'Knigi k iubileiu Oktiabria', *Kommunist*, 1987, no. 10, pp. 116–20.

<sup>101</sup> I. Zavgorodnaia, 'Novye belye piatna', *Izvestiia*, 17 August 1988, p. 6

library collections and the reorganization of their catalogues, especially in the field of socio-political literature.

The purges will be complemented by a strengthening of acquisitions of 'updated' publications which support positions deemed important by the current leader. Intensive publication of works relating to the Twenty-Seventh Party Congress and of works by and about Gorbachev gathers unceasing momentum. In 1977 the Soviet weekly national bibliography *Knizhnaia letopis'* registered one of Gorbachev's publications, and two in 1983. In 1985 his seven speeches were registered as sixty-one bibliographical units, with a circulation of 7,352,500 copies in dozens of languages. In 1986 it included 232 entries for him, with no entries for any of his predecessors except Lenin. In 1987 there were 162 entries, and 233 in 1988. Print runs for all these editions are huge. After the Twenty-Seventh Congress, the director of the Politizdat publishing house reported that the Congress proceedings were being published in an edition of forty-eight million copies, with a separate edition of Gorbachev's report to the Congress in fifteen million copies.<sup>102</sup> The proceedings of the Nineteenth Party Conference and Gorbachev's report to the Conference both had a print run of eighteen million copies.<sup>103</sup> A considerable proportion of these copies, together with recommedatory bibliographies listing works about the Congress or propagating its recommendations, will find their way onto the shelves of Soviet public libraries.

### Conclusion

Glasnost has shattered the myth of Soviet librarianship. Perestroika demands reform, and the direction which those reforms should take has been opened up for public discussion. Under Khrushchev, tentative, cautious experimentation with public opinion research began, but it declined during Brezhnev's 'years of stagnation'. Now, under Gorbachev, it is developing rapidly, and the results of surveys are being made public. Information thus gathered about reading habits, public services and the professional performance of librarians serves as a basis for policy-making in these areas.<sup>104</sup> In the past, local or all-union librarians' conferences were the only occasions which provided an opportunity for the discussion of professional problems. Such conferences were of a formal nature and called upon librarians to take very limited initiative, on an ideologically sound basis, and to 'creatively endorse'

<sup>102</sup> 'Politizdat. Literatura dlja izuchaiushchikh materialy Partiinogo S"ezda', *Kommunist*, 1986, no. 15, pp. 119–21 (p. 119).

<sup>103</sup> 'Izdatel'stva—sisteme politicheskogo i ekonomicheskogo obrazovaniia', *Politicheskoe obrazovanie*, 1987, no. 10, pp. 139–41. 'Novoe v Politizdate', *Kommunist*, 1989, no. 1, pp. 121–3 (p. 123).

<sup>104</sup> Anatolii Solov'ev, 'Diagnoz stavit sotsiolog', *Bibliotekar'*, 1988, no. 12, pp. 36–8.

Party policy.<sup>105</sup> Some of them were summoned in order to consider the most effective way of disseminating current Party policy,<sup>106</sup> or to discuss a Party resolution on a specific topic having nothing to do with librarianship.<sup>107</sup> Such gatherings did not invite the disclosure of any undesirable facts and did not encourage the expression of individual opinion. Soviet librarians also avoided any comparative analysis which might cast doubt on the superiority of the Soviet library system over the capitalist system.

There is no doubt that *glasnost* has changed this situation. A new style of 'round table' discussions has evolved, and important new decisions are preceded by open discussion, even public debate, in which library users, professional journals and the mass media take part. Thanks to *glasnost*, the information on which decisions are based becomes broader, and there is a departure from the old allegedly 'consensus' decisions. Previously, all planning in Soviet librarianship was command planning; now there is some encouragement for more localized planning, which should encourage initiative and give to librarians a more important role and more personal responsibility. It is conceivable that, given the opportunity to exercise local initiative, librarians could even succeed in arousing in their public a positive response to the Party's ideological-political programmes, instead of their previous formalist or indifferent response to them. Institutional constraint on government and Party bureaucrats makes their position more vulnerable, and is being used by librarians to combat stagnation and weakness in their profession. The majority of Soviet librarians, like their Western counterparts, aspire to a truly professional status, and they, especially those of the younger age group, are excited by policies which call for initiative and the abandonment of passivity. They are able to use complaints from the reading public about problems that have been brewing for some time so as to exert pressure for change on those librarians of the older age bracket who were denied any initiative throughout their working lifetime and whose resistance to change is deeply ingrained.

However, although *glasnost* has encouraged Soviet librarians to diagnose existing ills in their profession, they are still uncertain about the extent to which it will be possible to cure those ills. They do not know how far the regime will be willing to go in order to bring about reconciliation between political-ideological precepts and librarians' professional consciousness. In many ways, the two are incompatible. It is not certain to what, if any, degree political control will be relaxed over Soviet librarianship, but it seems relatively certain that the authoritarian credo of Leninism will continue to be

<sup>105</sup> *Biblioteki SSSR. Opyt raboty*, Vyp. 29 (Moscow, 1966), p. 129.

<sup>106</sup> *O schast'e byt' v mestе s narodom* (Moscow, 1978).

<sup>107</sup> A. Dudarev, 'Ne zabyvaia o glavnom', *Bibliotekar'*, 1965, no. 9, pp. 31, 32.

its background. The enthusiastic response of Soviet librarians to Gorbachev's initiatives shows that a desire for change already existed in a state of gestation in the professional community and was only awaiting a chance to emerge into the open. Some change, as we have seen, has already occurred, but the old and the new continue to coexist in Soviet librarianship. What will be the outcome by the end of Gorbachev's period of office is still uncertain, and it is very possible that the archaic practices described in this essay will eventually be modified or abolished.

I wish to thank Christine Thomas for drawing to my attention recently published material about Staff Councils (STKs) in Soviet libraries.

#### APPENDIX

Shortly after this article had been written, the November 1989 issue of *Vestnik Sovetskogo fonda kul'tury*, which was devoted to the theme of Soviet librarianship, provided graphic evidence of the determination of Soviet librarians to abandon passive acceptance of the prevailing state of affairs and to find ways of reforming and improving the Soviet library system. The *Vestnik*'s historical analysis differs from that of Boris Korsch in one important respect: while he dates the genesis of failure to the very beginning of the Soviet regime, the *Vestnik*'s authors see the rot as beginning only in the 1930s. However, the problems raised are strikingly similar, and Soviet librarians propose radical solutions to them.

They speak of a change in the Soviet 'library climate' over the past two years and describe as the 'first swallows' of this change of climate such events as the election to office of the directors of the Historical Library and the Foreign Literature Library. The Soviet Culture Foundation's Council on Librarianship (*Sovet sodeistviia bibliotekhnicheskym delu*) calls on librarians all over the country to debate the question of and promote the foundation of a Soviet Library Association. Moscow librarians are called upon to form their own local association by the Action Committee (*Initsiativnaia gruppa*) for the Founding of a Moscow Library Association, a draft statute for which is also published in this issue of the *Vestnik*. Perhaps most interesting of all are the Action Committee's proposals for the restructuring of Soviet librarianship, printed in full below.

## Proposals for the Restructuring of Librarianship in the USSR

The task of restructuring librarianship means reviewing radically the way it is organized now and the principles upon which our library system is based. Those main principles are, firstly, **concentration of power** in the hands of the top echelons of the ministry apparatus, to whom all resources (including personnel) belong and who have the right to take any decisions falling within their domain; secondly, **standardization of types of libraries** (library collections, tasks, methods of working), [made worse by] the exceedingly poor and excessively institutionalized (*ogosudarstvlennykh*) forms of libraries which have developed over the past decade; thirdly, **control over readers**, who are barred from whole strata of literature, from a range of library services and even from actual libraries of one kind or another.

In our opinion, the library system should be built on a completely different basis, namely: on an understanding of the library as an independent social organism, as the collective memory of society. Just as the institutions, groups and movements which make up our society are varied, each with its own interests and values, so types of libraries, their collections and services should be equally varied.

The main principles for the new organization of librarianship should be the following:

—**the independence of libraries** of all types and levels, whose relations with the state should be regulated by relevant economic and legal statutes;

—**the sovereignty of the reader**, the recognition of his right to be considered as a sound, competent and responsible person in the totality of his abilities, aptitudes and skills;

—**the division of power**, whereby executive power would be given to the librarian himself (the library staff), and legislative power would be in the hands of library councils (of a branch of knowledge, a region, a library association), which would formulate library policy and control its implementation.

The realization of the above principles could be brought about by the measures proposed below.

### I. The Restructuring of the Organization of Librarianship:

1) repeal of the 'Resolution on Librarianship in the USSR' (1984) and a rejection of the basic principles of library organization formulated in it;

2) decentralization of the administration of librarianship: taking state libraries away from the authority of ministries and putting them under the jurisdiction of Soviets of various levels;

3) rejection of the principle of residual (*ostatochnogo*) funding of libraries; distribution of resources through the elected Council (*Sovet*) of Library Societies and Associations, working closely with the Committees and Commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet (and correspondingly with Soviets of all other levels);

4) the implementation of self-government in libraries, in accordance with the 'Law on State Enterprises (Organizations)', the resolution of the Soviet of Ministers no. 1471;

5) discontinuation of the practice of *nomenklatura* appointment of librarians to top posts, and the election of directors on the basis of open competition; the confirmation of directors thus elected at a session of the appropriate Soviet;

6) replacement of administration of librarianship by the *apparatus* with a democratic system of 'horizontal links', on the basis of the creation of library associations and societies of various types;

- 7) granting to any organization, group of people or individuals the right to open a library, on the basis of any form of ownership (cooperative, mixed, shareholding, etc.);
- 8) the placing of relations between libraries and the state on a legal and economic basis; recognition of the sovereign rights of libraries in the implementation of policy on personnel, collection development, etc.;
- 9) the creation of councils attached to libraries made up of members of the public, the development of patronage and other forms of public support (*obshchestvennogo sodeistviia*) for librarianship.

## **II. The Transformation of the Library into a Real Cultural and Social Centre:**

- 1) for library collection development to be independent of political-ideological, use or any other considerations, for it to be directed towards the collecting of items representative of spiritual and material culture and [to aim for] collections which reflect as fully as possible spiritual and material culture; the recognition of the library's right to be master of its own collections;
- 2) freedom to engage in publishing activities (publishing rights to be granted to any organization, group of individuals, including librarians) and the freedom of the book market as the only basis for normal collection development;
- 3) removal of prohibition of certain activities which libraries may not undertake; encouragement of all kinds of cultural-educational, scientific, informational, publishing and other activities in libraries;
- 4) the speedy introduction into libraries of the achievements of modern material culture (providing them with new technology and equipment, with new buildings which meet modern standards, their design to be put out to competition, etc.); the removal of control over the use of copying machines;
- 5) the transformation of the library into a centre of cultural and social initiative of a given region.

## **III. Enhancement of the Prestige of the Library Profession, Improvement in the Conditions of Library Staff:**

- 1) the redirection of library education towards a fundamental grounding in the humanities, natural sciences or science and technology for professional librarians; the inclusion of library disciplines in the university education system;
- 2) improvement of material conditions of library staff, strengthening of their social protection (raising their salaries to the national average; the payment in full of pensions to working librarians of pensionable age, the creation of a system of benefits and incentives for the strengthening of the profession, in particular additional payment as compensation for working in buildings unsuitable for long-term habitation by people or storage of books, etc.).

## **IV. The Broadening of Links between Soviet Libraries and the World Library System, the Inclusion of Soviet Libraries in the World Cultural Process:**

- 1) to increase by all possible means and through all channels the acquisition of foreign literature (increasing hard-currency allowances for the purchase of foreign publications, removing administrative limitations and getting rid of ideological dictates in the area of international book exchange, establishing direct links with bookselling firms abroad, removing all bureaucratic procedures for placing hard-

currency orders and centralized control of their content, etc.);

2) the development of direct links with libraries abroad, exchanges of specialists on short visits and longer visits to gain work experience, the participation of professional librarians in the work of international organizations and in international librarianship programmes.

Action Group for the Founding of a Moscow Library Association, September 1989.

# ВЕСТНИК Советского Фонда Культуры

## В НОМЕРЕ

- О БИБЛИОТЕКАХ И БИБЛИОТЕЧНОМ ДЕЛЕ.  
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- КО ВСЕМ РАБОТНИКАМ БИБЛИОТЕЧНЫХ,  
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АЦИЯ?

1989  
N 4

МОСКВА

# Самиздат глазами библиографа

Александр Суэтнов

В семидесятые годы стало очевидным сильнейшее расхождение между декларациями и реальностью. В нравственном и материальном бардаке обесценилось слово. Под дебилический партийно-бюрократический пресс едва ли не первой пошла гуманитарная интеллигенция. Нас лишили хлеба насущного. Из библиотек изымались и уничтожались книги, спецхраны росли как на дрожжах, большинство честных исследований вообще не печаталось, а их авторы лишались возможности продолжать работу.<sup>1</sup> Из практики библиографирования был выпущен целый пласт книжно-журнальной продукции попросту называемый самиздатом. Несанкционированное мнение не только не принималось в расчет, но делался вид, что его вообще не существует. Прежде чем писать о библиографировании, попробую как-то обозначить предмет, понять, что такой самиздат и какова его история. В советской прессе доселе почти не было статей, рассказывающих об этом, характерном только для нас, явлении.<sup>2</sup>

Большая часть самиздата (т.е. та, о коей имеет смысл говорить) обладает всеми признаками, присущими книге или журналу. Используемые способы печати — машинопись, гектограф, ксерокс или принтер компьютера, фотоспособ. Начальные тиражи — 30-50 экземпляров. Окончательные установить невозможно, так как лучшие издания многократно дублируются, переснимаются, как самими читателями, так и добровольными распространителями. Прежде чем кратко обрисовать историю самиздата, попробую вчерне определить его, как *выходящую независимо от государственного и иного контроля книжно-журнальную продукцию, развивающую идеи и художественные течения, не получившие адекватного отражения в государственной печати или расходящиеся с признанными идеологическими и эстетическими нормами*. Самиздат существует вне официальной прессы и параллельно ей.

Отечественный самиздат имеет долгую историю. ‘Моление’ Даниила Заточника, послания протопопа Аввакума — что это, если не предтечи самиздата? Независимая печать — это естественная реакция нонконформной части общества на любые проявления тоталитаризма, духовного принуждения, единообразия, государственной лжи и декларативного

<sup>1</sup> Достаточно вспомнить имена А. Амальрика, Ж. Медведева, Л. Гумилева.

<sup>2</sup> Аврора, 1988, № 3, с. 135-148. Дружба народов, 1988, № 10, с. 204-207. Даугава, 1988, № 9, с. 95-104.

словоблудия. Существование самиздата у нас определяется низкой степенью духовной свободы граждан, отрицательным отношением государства к инакомыслию. В цивилизованном демократическом обществе самиздата не существует, т.к. почти все можно напечатать в нормальной прессе; в тоталитарных, диктаторских режимах его также нет, в силу полного отсутствия свобод. Возможно, это явление связано с начальным процессом демократизации столь же тесно, сколь ранее со становлением государственности. Русские правители издревле присвоили себе право печься об образе мыслей своих подданных. ‘Вы одновременно император и папа,’ заметил Наполеон Александру, ‘это очень удобно.’ Реакция на подавление свободы высказываний, цензуру, известна. Это появление подметных писем и подложных манифестов, позже листовок и прокламаций, Эзопов язык, тамиздат Герцена, и наконец, классический самиздат народников. При первом приближении я могу вспомнить только три кратких периода в истории России, когда самиздата не существовало. Это правление Екатерины II (причем, только до 1789 года), краткий период между двух революций, и время правления Сталина. В годы сталинщины самиздата не существовало. Тотальный террор сделал свое дело, а для самоубийства находились и более легкие способы. Впрочем, он существовал, но только в зародыше. Написал-прочитал-сел.

Первые слабые ростки его появились в шестидесятые годы, лишь слегка запоздав за магнитофонной гласностью. Реакция на его появление была безобразной, но процесс (не возвращаясь к террористическим методам) уже было не остановить. Распространяются произведения Солженицына, ‘Доктор Живаго’ Пастернака, ‘Окаянные дни’ Бунина, ‘Шествие’ Бродского и ‘Реквием’ Ахматовой, ‘Лебединый стан’ Цветаевой, работы Сахарова, Роя и Жореса Медведевых, романы Набокова, воспоминания Антонова-Овсеенко и Е. Гинзбург, ‘Технология власти’ Авторханова, Оруэлл и Конквист, ‘Воронежские тетради’ Мандельштама и некупированные Булгаков, Платонов, ‘Москва-Петушки’ незабвенного Ерофеева и тексты Галича... В этом перечислении первых же вспомнившихся имен — пять нобелевских лауреатов! По-моему, это достаточно характеризует уровень первой волны отечественного самиздата. Чуть позже начинают выходить периодические издания: ‘Хроника текущих событий’, ‘Русь’, ‘Вече’, ‘Поиски’, ‘37’, ‘Часы’... В восьмидесятые годы их традиции продолжают ‘Экспресс-хроника’, ‘Земля’, ‘Митин журнал’. По их публикациям становятся привычными имена И. Ратушинской и В. Кривулина, Д. Пирогова и Л. Рубинштейна, В. Сорокина и О. Седаковой — всех не перечислить. Вообще, мне кажется, что преемственность традиций в самиздате довольна развита. Кроме прямых продолжений (‘Хроника’ — ‘Экспресс-хроника’; ‘Вече’ — ‘Земля’; ‘Призыв’ — ‘Чаша’) — большинство изданий восьмидесятых продолжают разрабатывать

линию, намеченную в одном из ‘родоначальников’ независимой печати.<sup>3</sup>

Авангардные движения в искусстве естественно повлекли за собой издание художественных журналов, ориентированных на молодежь. Кино, живопись, джаз, рок, коцептуализм и новая волна — все эти направления были представлены независимыми изданиями.<sup>4</sup> Был создан художественный самодостаточный ареал параллельного искусства, в котором выкристаллизовались и взаимодействовали новые художественные направления. Заметим, что специальный журнал ‘Литературная учеба’ все это время пребывал в состоянии социалистического реализма. Журналы же, специализирующиеся по видам искусства, об авангардных течениях просто не писали, или писали так, что, мало-мальски сведущему человеку стыдно было читать. Богоискательство молодого поколения было поддержано религиозно-философскими изданиями — от ‘БХО’ (‘Бюллетень христианской общественности’) до ‘Выбора’, ‘Чаши’ и ‘Харе Кришны’. Отметим личное мужество издателей доперестроенного периода. Многие из них попали в лагеря по знаменитой статье 190-1 (распространение заведомо ложных... порочащих... измышлений). А наиболее настойчивые удостоились и 70-й. Как заявил недавно один перестроившийся прокурор из Магадана, ‘гражданская смелость этих людей опередила нашу на десятилетие’.<sup>5</sup>

Для библиографа, как и для юриста, крайне важна точность в терминологии, однозначность толкования. Многое из того, что в 1979 году трактовалось как ‘порочащие измышления’, сейчас общепризнанный факт, сообщенный вдобавок с высоких трибун. Первое принадлежит самиздату — второе нет. Весьма вероятно, что то, что сейчас печатается в свободной прессе, лет через десять войдет в лексикон официальных идеологов. Но пока для библиографа важны точные критерии отбора, строгое понимание термина ‘самиздат’. Неясностей здесь множество. В семидесятые годы большую часть самиздата составляли книги (в том числе копии западных изданий). В бытовом понимании — все, что издается без соответствующего разрешения — самиздат. Но можно ли причислять к нему перепечатки, т.е. размножение текстов изданных на Западе, или же не выходивших после революции, изъятых из библиотек? С юридической точки зрения это, возможно, и самиздат, но с библиографической — это лишь самодеятельная перепечатка уже изданной и

<sup>3</sup> На третьем совещании редакторов независимых изданий, которое состоялось 19-20 ноября 1988 г. в Москве, было сказано, что самиздат умер и на смену ему пришла независимая печать. Чтобы не вдаваться в терминологические споры, я буду использовать оба термины, полагая по сути их идентичными.

<sup>4</sup> Существует ‘Дело’ (джаз), ‘Парадигма’ (синкетический авангард), ‘Урлайт’ (рок), ‘Сине-фантом’ (параллельное кино).

<sup>5</sup> Социалистическая индустрия, 1988, 8 июня.

КОНФЕДЕРАЦИЯ АНАРХО-СИНДИКАЛИСТОВ

# ОБЩИНА

ВЛАСТЬ НАРОДАМ, А НЕ ПАРТИЯМ!

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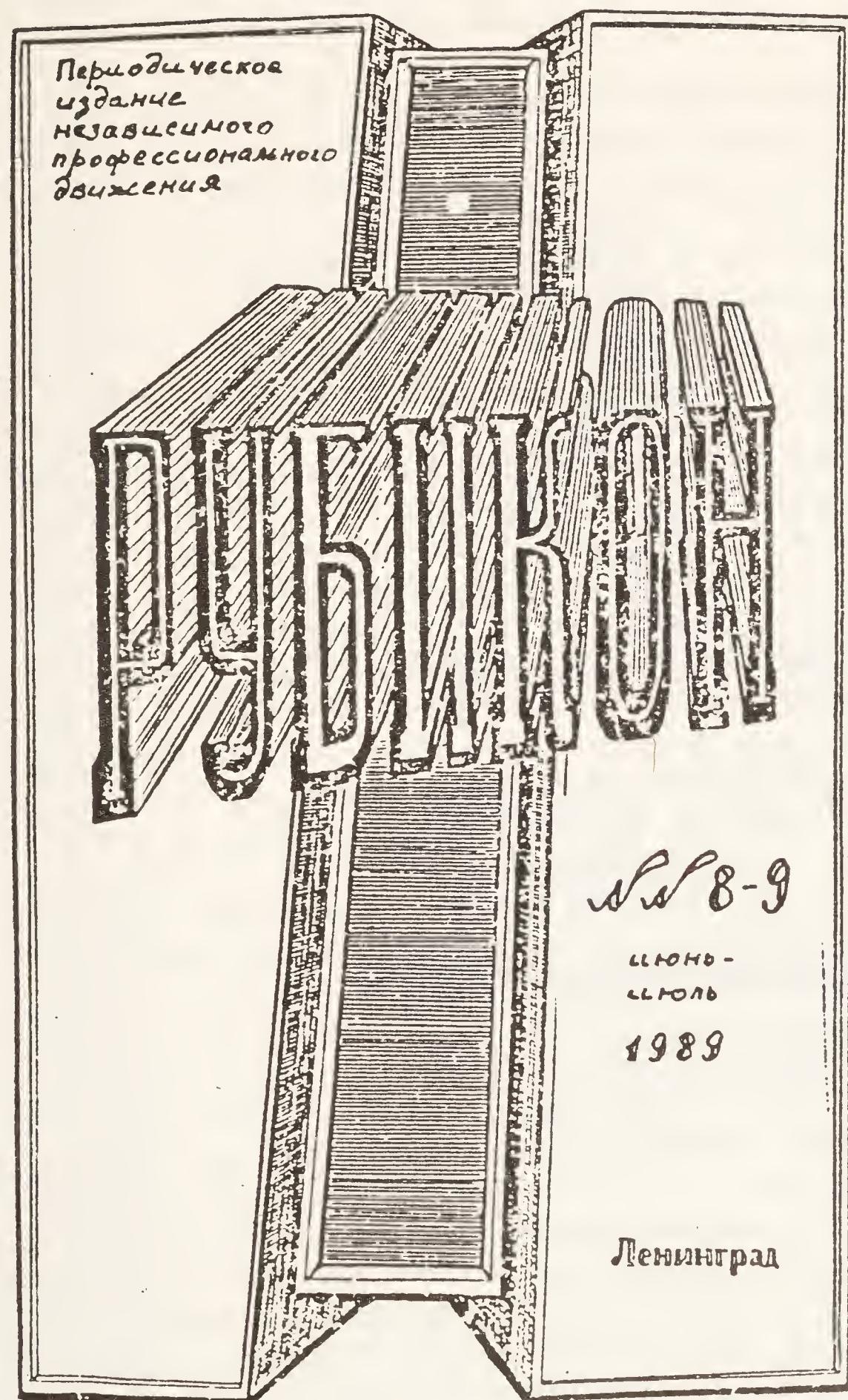
зарегистрированной книги. Возможно, она малодоступна, но учтена и сохранена в памяти, вошла в соответствующие каталоги.<sup>6</sup> В то же время, часто издания на Западе появляются одновременно или чуть раньше распространения книги здесь. Многие тамиздатские журналы прямо указывают, что ‘более двух третей содержания составляют материалы разнообразного литературного самиздата из России’.<sup>7</sup> Кажется все же, что жесткое разделение там- и самиздата в библиографии не обходимо, так как в первом случае мы имеем дело с отечественной гражданской инициативой, а во втором, фактически, с книжной продукцией зарубежных стран, что удел иностранной библиографии. Дать же ответ на вопрос, что же первично (‘там’ или ‘сам’ — куда отнести?) может лишь четко организованный учет самиздата, аналитическое описание. Несомненно, учитывать нужно все, что издается независимыми издателями, но разделяя по формальным признакам, исходя из понимания самиздата.

Можно ли, например, причислять к самиздату альманахи многочисленных студий, литьобъединений? (‘Морская черепаха’, ‘Корабль’.) Мне кажется — да, если они не залитованы, не прошли предварительной цензуры, не санкционированы к выпуску. А многочисленные домашние, кружковые журналы? (‘Паркс’ (Рига), ‘Штиль’ (Соловки).) Обладая всеми признаками самиздата, они тем не менее имеют весьма низкий художественный и информационный уровень. Важнее того, они не самостоятельны, как художественное или социальное явление. Разброс по качеству, к сожалению, в самиздате значительно больше, нежели в официальной прессе. На его страницы попадают произведения дилетантов всех гуманитарных областей — собственно художественного творчества, философии и психологии. Нужен элементарный критерий ‘качества’, дабы избежать необходимости учитывать ученические опыты или явную грамматию. Но кто возьмет на себя смелость быть экспертом? Очевидно, что пока отнесение того или иного текста к самиздату носит весьма субъективный характер.

С 1987 года тон в независимой печати задают повсеместно возникающие периодические издания. За последние два года количество изданий увеличилось почти в десять раз. Особенно сильный всплеск возникновения новых изданий произошел в начале 1989 года. За первые шесть месяцев появилось на свет 160 изданий. Если до 1987 года количество неподцензурных изданий, колеблясь, не превышает 10-20 названий, то сейчас мне известно более 600 изданий выходящих в стране

<sup>6</sup> Если быть терминологически придирчивым, это, конечно, самиздат, но не независимая печать.

<sup>7</sup> ‘Эхо’, 1978, с. 159.



только на русском языке! Известно, что в Литве издается 175 независимых изданий (на литовском языке), около 50 на Кавказе, по 10-15 в Латвии, Эстонии, западной Украине, так что общее число неподцензурных изданий в СССР на нынешний день приблизительно 750-800 наименований.

Обзавелись своими изданиями и представители отдельных групп населения: московские хиппи издают журнал ‘Свобода’; студенты выпускают разнообразные ‘Информационные листки’ (один из них — ‘Бойкот’ — координировал борьбу студентов за отмену курса военной подготовки в Вузах); рабочие выпускают журналы ‘Набат’, ‘Рабочий путь’, ‘Пролетарский вестник’. На городскую интеллигенцию, чьи взгляды сформировались в конце семидесятых-начале восьмидесятых годов, ориентирован журнал ‘Параграф’. В Ленинграде выходит прекрасный феминистский журнал ‘Женское чтение’, пропагандирующий женское творчество и развивающий идеи феминизма западно-европейского направления. В провинции повсеместно возникают общественные издания ‘В поддержку перестройки’, своего рода проводники гласности, основные силы отдающие борьбе с злоупотреблениями и коррупцией местных властей. Из политизированных журналов эта группа, пожалуй, наиболее многочисленная. В ней выделяется ‘Бюллетень Добровольного общества содействия перестройке’, выходящий в Апатитах, ‘Гражданин’ — журнал организации ‘За народный фронт Ставрополья’, объединивший местных интеллектуалов, преподавателей университета в борьбе за гражданские права населения, ‘Айну’ — бюллетень независимого информцентра в Южно-Сахалинске... Всех не перечислить. Как правило, эти издания состоят из двух четко разделенных частей — декларативной и информативной. В первой приводят программные документы, разнообразные декларации, заявления и обращения групп и союзов; во второй — хроника общественной жизни города или региона. Иногда к ним добавляется и литературная страница, в которой помещаются либо произведения, не напечатанные в стране, либо творчество местных авторов.

Тиражи независимых изданий, за исключением отдельных популярных газет, редко превышают 2-3 сотни экземпляров. Как правило, делаются они на машинке, а потом размножаются на ксероксе. В последнее время все чаще используется персональный компьютер с печатающим устройством. Большинство редакций работает на голом энтузиазме, отдавая этому все свободное время. Однако крупные издания уже вынуждены идти по пути профессионализма, теми или иными путями обеспечивая финансовые дотации на издание журнала. До сих пор независимые издатели не имеют права на заключение договоров с типографиями, не имеют право на законных основаниях продавать свою продукцию, приобретать бумагу, множительную технику. Это, естественно, мешает



# СИГОР

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Москва

их выходу на широкого читателя, заставляет оставаться в полуподпольном состоянии, а официальной прессе при таком положении можно делать вид, что никакого конкурента не существует. На какие только ухищрения не идут независимые издатели, пытаясь донести свое слово до читателя: в Горьком одно время существовала ходячая газета-тумба, которую таскал на себе по городу заколоченный внутри редактор, в Обнинске существует журнал на компьютерных дискетах, в Ровно газета изготавливается в виде плаката и расклеивается на заборах... География независимой прессы — вся страна, от Львова до Магадана. Собственные журналы имеют ставропольские хуторяне и татарские колхозники, нефтяники вахтовики и экскурсоводы на Соловках!

Многочисленность направлений в самиздате такова, что трудно предложить какую-либо приемлемую классификацию. Периодические издания легко подразделяются на три основных направлений — религиозно-философские, литературно-художественные и общественно-политические издания. Наиболее многочисленны и быстро развивающиеся, несомненно, общественно-политические журналы. Литературно-художественных и религиозно-философских возникло весьма мало.

Большая часть общественно-политических изданий представляет разнообразные течения демократического направления: от социал-демократов до анархо-синдикалистов. Если их объединить по критерию отрицания тоталитаризма и оппозиционности к существующему парторктическому правлению, то они составят солидное большинство среди независимых изданий. Однако, политический и тематический спектр общественно-политических изданий весьма разнообразен. К сожалению, я не могу предложить приемлемую классификацию политизированных изданий: понятия 'правые' и 'левые' в СССР давно смешены, а из примерно 200 демократических журналов 150 имеют собственную платформу. Схема превратилась бы в бесконечно увеличивающейся перечень политических направлений: демократы, социал-демократы и т.д. Поэтому, раз мы говорим о независимой, т.е. изначально оппозиционной прессе, мне кажется приемлемым весьма условно подразделить независимые общественно-политические издания по их отношению к существующему порядку вещей. Проведем условное жанровое разделение изданий на общественно-политические, религиозно-философские и литературно-художественные. Внутри общественно-политических изданий выделим три группы — демократическое направление, национальное, и пролетарское (право-консервативное). Издания демократического направления естественно распадутся на шесть групп: радикально-демократические (жестко оппозиционные); либерально-демократические; социалистические; национально-демократические; пацифистские; зеленые. При такой схеме будет уже просто провести более дробное деление,

ЕДИНСТВЕННОЕ ОБЩЕСИБИРСКОЕ  
ИНФОРМАЦИОННОЕ ИЗДАНИЕ

# СПЕЦБЮДЖЕТ БЮЛЛЕТЕНЬ

НЕЗАВИСИМОГО  
СИБИРСКОГО ИНФОРМАЦИОННОГО АГЕНТСТВА

СПЕЦ 30 ВЫПУСК

29 ОКТЯБРЯ  
1989

## МАФИЯ

### НА СТРАЖЕ

## ЗАКОНА

ИЗДАТЕЛЬСТВО СИА "ВЕКА-89"  
НОВОСИБИРСК

например, марксистские издания расположатся в двух-трех рубриках — от либерально-демократических до зеленых. В демократических изданиях можно условно выделить группу ‘перестроечных’, т.е. поддерживающих, в разной степени, инициативы властей, ‘правозащитных’ и жестко оппозиционных. Национально-возрожденческие издания естественно распадутся на национально-демократические, центристские и национально-шовинистические.

Либерально-демократические издания — это большая (больше сорока) группа журналов и бюллетеней, появившихся в 88-89 годах. Как правило, они издаются разнообразными клубами и объединениями: ‘в защиту перестройки’, ‘содействия перестройке’, ‘демократической перестройки’ и т.д. Большинство из них пытаются сотрудничать с властями, не всегда, впрочем, успешно. Наиболее известные и характерные из этих изданий бюллетень ‘Добровольного общества Содействия перестройке’, выходящий в Апатитах (Добровольное общество и бюллетень ныне прославлены тем, что одним из его активных участников до 1989 года и председателем общества был Александр Оболенский — депутат Верховного Совета, первый кандидат в альтернативные Президенты страны (так и не допущенный к выборам). ‘Вестник Союза содействия революционной перестройке’, выходящий в Томске, несколько более оппозиционное издание, впрочем, стоящее на вполне марксистских позициях. В Москве наиболее характерное из изданий этой группы, несомненно, газета ‘Панorama’, либерально-демократическое издание, спокойное и аналитичное. Выходящий в Ставрополе ‘Гражданин’ имеет подзаголовок: ‘Издание организации За народный фронт Ставрополья’, но его вполне можно отнести к либерально-демократическим изданиям. Поверив в декларативное заявление о гласности, демократизации, хозрасчете, плюрализме, провинциальные интеллигенты (кандидаты наук, преподаватели) начали активную деятельность по реализации этих положений и сразу же столкнулись с мощным противодействием местной правящей мафии. В силу этого журнал, естественно, претерпел некоторую эволюцию, превратившись в оппозиционно-полемический орган, отстаивающий провозглашенные Горбачевым принципы перед местной властью. Основным содержанием стало уличение правителей области в многочисленных грехах. В Ленинграде выходят два вполне оппозиционных либерально-демократических издания ‘за перестройку’ — это журнал ‘Перекресток мнений’ и газета ‘Северо-запад’. ‘Перекресток мнений’ — теоретический журнал, основное внимание уделяющий социально-экономическим проблемам. ‘Северо-запад’ — еженедельная газета довольно широкого спектра, относительно радикальная, но без четко выраженного направления.

Правозащитные демократические издания (их больше двадцати) продолжают тенденцию борьбы за гражданские права в рамках

существующего советского и международного законодательства, существующую с середины шестидесятых годов. К ним можно отнести прежде всего два издания Комитета Социальной Защиты (журнал ‘Голос’ и газету ‘Жернова’), бюллетень ‘Страничка узника’ и журналы ‘Право’ и ‘Права человека’, бюллетени хельсинских групп, издающиеся в нескольких республиках. При всем неприятии существующего строя правозащитные издания, тем не менее, исходят из того, что власти должны выполнить собственные законы и подписанные ими международные соглашения: прежде всего всеобщую декларацию Прав Человека и Венские договоренности. Помимо контроля за соблюдение международных правовых актов, правозащитные издания занимаются конкретной работой по обнародованию фактов и помощи пострадавшим от произвола властей, от абсурдности и недемократичности наших законов. Толстые демократические издания такие как ‘Гласность’, ‘Поединок’, ‘Левый поворот’, ‘Открытая зона’ включают правозащитные публикации в отдельные разделы.

Разнообразнейшие альтернативные пути демократического развития страны, не совпадающие с намеченными властями преобразованиями, предлагает большая группа радикально-демократических изданий. Иначе, т.е. самостоятельно, мыслящие редакции в основном убеждены, что любой путь развития при сохранении коммунизма как конечной цели, а коммунистов у власти — тупиковый и гибельный для страны. Наиболее характерными для издания этой группы являются несомненно газеты, журналы ‘Демократического союза’: ‘Свободное слово’, бюллетень ‘ДС’, ‘Новая жизнь’, ‘Начало’, ‘Диссидент’, ‘Учредительное собрание’, и многочисленные региональные информационные листки. Общим для этих изданий является откровенная оппозиционность существующему режиму — неприятие ни реального социализма, ни того пути, которое предлагает КПСС. Помимо изданий ДС, наиболее яркими радикально-демократическими изданиями, являются информационная фактологическая газета ‘Экспресс-хроника’, журналы ‘Гласность’, ‘Демократическая оппозиция’, ‘Монитор’. ‘Гласность’ — мощная информационная фирма, ориентированная на запад. ‘Экспресс-хроника’ — своего рода летопись оппозиционного движения страны и преступлений властей. Стоящий особняком — журнал конфедерации анархо-синдикалистов ‘Община’ пропагандирует совершенно оригинальную концепцию политического устройства страны.

Особое положение занимают издания Народных фронтов. Среди них есть и радикальные оппозиционные издания и прокоммунистические и социалистические и русофильские. Наиболее мощные движения сложились в Балтийских республиках. Саюдис в Литве и Народные фронты в Латвии и Эстонии имеют солидную издательскую базу, издают

собственные газеты и бюллетени, пользующиеся огромной популярностью. Начиная с 1989 года в Балтии произошла резкая поляризация независимых общественных изданий. На одном полюсе прессы националистических Народных фронтов, на другом — издания интердвижений. Между собой они разнятся гораздо больше нежели от государственной прессы. Лучшие, на мой взгляд, издания — это рижская ‘Атмода’ и таллинский ‘Вестник ИД’. В России Народные фронты значительно малочисленнее и испытывают сильное противодействие властей. Крупные организации сложились в Ярославле, Ленинграде и Казани; на Украине — в Киеве. При содействии Московского Народного фронта выходит несколько независимых изданий; наиболее интересные из них — ‘Левый поворот’, ‘Вестник Московского народного фронта’ (прекращен) и ‘Наше дело’. Московский Народный фронт (по сравнению с провинциальными) — наиболее политизированная и разнообразная по включающим в себя политическим направлениям, организация.

Сотрудникам Московского бюро информационного обмена, регулярно читающим самиздат, я задал вопрос: ‘Какие независимые политизированные издания, по вашему мнению, оказывают наибольшее влияние на общественное движение, являются наиболее информативными и профессиональными?’ В результате появился такой список: Первое место прочно заняла ‘Экспресс-хроника’, затем ‘Атмода’, далее почти вровень расположились ‘Община’, ‘Гласность’ и ‘Референдум’. В отдельных регионах доминируют местные газеты: в Белоруссии — ‘Белорусская трибуна’, в Латвии — ‘Атгимимас’, в Эстонии — ‘Вестник НФ’, в Сибири — ‘Пресс-бюллетень СиБИА’, в Ленинграде — ‘Меркурий’ и ‘Северо-запад’. В Москве, в последнее время, быстро приобретают популярность газеты ‘Панорама’ и ‘Гражданское достоинство’, по-прежнему вызывает интерес репортажно-ироничный ‘Хронограф’. Существует также ряд журналов высокого уровня издающихся очень небольшим тиражом, не оказывающих заметного влияния, но приподнимающих ‘планку качества’ самиздата. Это прежде всего ‘Параграф’, публицистический журнал городской интеллигенции поколения семидесятых, аналитический журнал ‘Демократия и мы’, ‘Поединок’, ‘Земля’ — один из немногих достойных журналов русского национального возрождения. Впрочем, чаще встречается обратное — издания достаточно среднего уровня выходят большим (для самиздата) тиражом и, в силу своей распространенности, начинают ‘браться в расчет’, занимает определенную информационную нишу. Это прежде всего ‘Информационный бюллетень ИАС’ (Информационного агентства СМОТ), партийный орган ‘Свободное слово’, много-тиражные белорусские и литовские издания. В последние месяцы стала заметной произошедшая сильная профессионализация самиздата, что, несомненно лишает его некоторой очаровательности, ощущения доверия

и сопричастности, но, в целом, делает его более ответственным и литературно грамотным.

Своеобразие современного состояния самиздата заключается еще и в том, что внутри него установочные расхождения едва ли не более сильные, нежели по отношению к официальной прессе. Группа марксистско-пролетарских журналов ‘Набат’, Пролетарский вестник’, ‘Реванш’, ‘Марксист’, с одной стороны, социалистические издания ‘Левый поворот’, ‘Открытая зона’ — в центре, леводемократические ‘Гласность’, ‘День за днем’, ‘Монитор’ — с другой. Разнообразнейшие националистические издания — от русской ‘Памяти’ и Литовского ‘Возрождения’ до Азербайджанского ‘Бюллетеня НФ’ — декларируют совершенно полярные ценности. Впрочем, издания представляющие крайние точки зрения, единственные, которые выдвигают разработанные альтернативные программы. Как выразился один из лидеров русского возрождения — ‘Демократическое болото никаких проблем не решит’. А поляризация изданий в Прибалтике просто бросается в глаза. Издания жестко разделены на национальные (в основном на языке) и ‘интернациональные’, русскоязычные, занимающие, как правило, более консервативную позицию. В Литве ‘Атгимимас’, ‘Кауно Аидас’ — ‘Венибе-Единство-Едность’, ‘Гласность’. В Латвии ‘Атмода’ — ‘Единство’. В Эстонии ‘Вестник НФ’ — ‘Вестник ИД’. Причем, наибольшую агрессивность проявляют не консервативно-перестроечные издания, а национал-патриотические. Складывается впечатление, что русскоязычное население окраин просто напугано размахом национального движения и ничего кроме призывов к сдержанности и благоразумию не может ему противопоставить.<sup>8</sup> Особняком стоят политизированные, но весьма своеобразные издания нашедшие свою микросоциальную нишу — прежде всего феминистское ‘Женское чтение’ и ‘Свобода’ — журнал ‘системы’ (советских хиппи). ‘Женское чтение’ в основном предоставляет свои страницы литературному творчеству женщин, но печатает и публицистику (статья о Раисе Горбачевой), переводы, сексологические исследования. ‘Свобода’ представляет читателям оригинальные литературные и публицистические опыты ‘системных’ ребят. (Классическая философия хиппи довольно разработана, и один из последних могикан движения шестидесятых издает в Пскове хороший журнал ‘12’.)

Из религиозно-философских изданий, вне всякой конкуренции ‘Выбор’ — журнал христианской культуры, продолжающий традиции серебрянного века русской философии. При чтении ‘Выбора’ иногда возникает ощущение, что не было в России семидесятилетнего кошмарного

<sup>8</sup> Эти издания нельзя назвать ‘самиздатом’, но это, несомненно, независимая (в смысле политической и культурной ориентации) от правительства пресса.

эксперимента, и что живые ученики Соловьева и Флоренского продолжают дело учителей. Достаточно высокого уровня, почти межконфессиональный 'Бюллетень христианской общественности'. Журнал очень информативен, стремится охватить все стороны религиозной жизни страны. С весны 1989 года выходят отдельные информационные выпуски БХО, содержащие хронику религиозной жизни СССР. Более правый и ортодоксальный, по сравнению с этими изданиями, православный журнал 'Слово' — он будет более всего близок ревнителям 'епархиального' православия. К сожалению очень маленьким тиражом выходит прекрасный христианский журнал для детей 'Круг'. Это, насколько мне известно, единственное подобное издание, к тому же хорошо иллюстрированное современным художником-авангардистом. На молодежь рассчитан и миссионерский журнал 'Амвон'. В большей или меньшей степени собственными периодическими изданиями представлены почти все религиозные конфессии СССР — от русской истинно православной церкви в катакомбах до евангельских христиан-баптистов и католиков.

Литературный самиздат в последнее время почти не развивается, в худшей своей части оставаясь уделом графоманов и юношества, в лучшей — пробившись в 'большую' прессу или на запад. Продолжают выходить небольшим тиражом появившиеся в конце семидесятых ленинградские журналы 'Часы' и 'Обводный канал' — давно ставшие заметным явлением в литературном андерграунде. Авангардистские тенденции, слабо заметные в 'Часах', расцвели в появившихся в 1985 году двух интересных авангардистских изданиях — 'Митином журнале' (Ленинград) и 'Эпсилон-салоне' (Москва). И по сей день, несмотря на то, что часть их редакций эмигрировала, они остаются лучшими изданиями в избранном направлении. В конце 1988 года в Ленинграде стал выходить литературный журнал 'Сумерки', продолживший, почти исчезнувшую линию традиционализма, классической русской литературы. Это очень чистый и грустный журнал литераторов поколения семидесятых. Выход из общей ситуации пост-модернизма ищут два новых ленинградских издания (летом 1989 года существовавшие в макетах) — 'Знак' и 'Вестник новой литературы'. Оба издания занимаются поисками нового языка в искусстве, 'неоавангардом' (разница в возрасте между издателями — два поколения). В Ейске, в глухой провинции, десять лет издают поставангардистский альманах 'Транспонанс' живущие там постфутуристы; в Москве регулярно пытаются экспериментировать с изданиями авангардисты разных оттенков, последнее их издание вышло под названием 'Маниакально-депрессивный психоз'. Несколько изданий выходит на базе литературных объединений, но заметного следа они не оставляют. Естественно, в этом кратком обзоре пропущены многие издания заслуживающие рассмотрения.

Чем же интересен самиздат для библиографа? Прежде всего тем, что уже с момента выхода любое самиздатское издание — библиографическая редкость. Тиражи редко превышают 200 экземпляров. Многие интереснейшие произведения так и остались только в самиздате. Например, А. и Б. Стругацкие так переделали для официальной печати повесть ‘Гадкие лебеди’, что от первоначальной оптимистической антиутопии, насыщенной советскими реалиями — ничего не осталось. А рукописные сборники А. Крученых! Это же классический самиздат! Для любого исследователя литературного и общественного процесса в России — самиздат ценнейший источник информации. Материалы, печатающиеся в нем, во всяком случае более объективно отражают ситуацию в нашем обществе, нежели подневольная пресса. В нем получают воплощения только еще зарождающиеся направления художественной и общественной мысли. ‘Самиздат существовал всегда’, — пишет Дмитрий Лихачев, — ‘с тех пор, как я умею читать, — я помню самиздат.’ Так информация, которую пытались сделать доступной для граждан издатели семидесятых (били в колокол и добились ИТК строгого режима), сейчас чуть более доступна. Даже ставятся фильмы и телепередачи о политзаключенных (в том числе и в психушках). Но увертюра к оттепели, называемой ‘гласностью’, сыграна самиздатом. Задача библиографа — зафиксировать: кто? где? когда?

Указ о вольных типографиях вышел почти 200 лет назад. Сейчас Клуб независимой печати намерен добиваться отмены запрета на индивидуальную (кооперативную) издательскую деятельность. В ближайшем будущем библиографам и информационным институтам придется иметь дело с новыми, неподцензурными объектами библиографирования, существующими вне государственной системы учета. Библиотекам, получающим обязательный экземпляр, стоило бы наладить хотя бы депонирование независимых изданий на правах рукописи. Что же это за общество — плюющее на интеллектуальный потенциал. Общий месячный тираж отечественного самиздата превышает 125.000 экземпляров. Это около 400.000 читателей, и отмахнуться от этого факта нельзя. Перед нами живая история интеллектуального брожения, происходящего в нашем обществе. Хочется уповать, что возможно нормальное существование государственной и независимой прессы. Читатель сам выберет, что ему ближе. Необходим достаточно полный аналитический библиографический указатель.<sup>9</sup> Необходима моральная и материальная поддержка первым независимым библиотекам. Необходим сводный каталог

<sup>9</sup> Part of this article was written as an introduction to the author’s ‘Soviet Opposition Press Handbook’ (‘Справочник независимой прессы СССР’), to be issued as a спецвыпуск of nos. 5/6/7 of the samizdat journal ‘Независимый библиограф’.

этих библиотек. Для цивилизованного общества независимое книгоиздание — это не уголовно-наказуемое деяние, а естественное следствие пробуждения общественного самосознания, начальный процесс демократизации.



# Charter of the All-Union Society of the Book

W. E. Butler

The origins and activities of VOK have been outlined in an earlier issue of *Solanus*.<sup>1</sup> At the IV Congress of VOK held at Moscow on 19–20 October 1989, an event which takes place at five-year intervals, the Charter of VOK was substantially amended to reflect the developments and implications of perestroika.

In the period preceding the Congress there was a certain amount of discussion about the directions in which VOK was developing, especially in the columns of *Knizhnoe obozrenie* and *V mire knig*.<sup>2</sup> These same views were presented during the plenary debates at the Congress but found no support insofar as rival candidacies for elective office within the organization were concerned; the existing leadership was overwhelmingly re-elected.

Perestroika has nonetheless brought a number of changes reflected in the new Charter. Serious book collectors are to have as much attention as the ordinary reader—a contentious issue where emphasis on book studies sometimes finds itself competing with what might be called ‘propaganda of the book’. Bibliophiles in the RSFSR in January 1989 formed their own Association within the VOK framework under the guidance of O. Lasunskii and V. Petritskii—both first-class bookmen. Recent issues of the *Al'manakh bibliofila* develop thematically such diverse topics as ‘the book in Mongolia’ and ‘the Slavic book from the tenth to the twentieth century’. Even the rather dull *Kniga: issledovaniia i materialy* has been enhanced with some absorbing documents and articles on book collecting (see vols. 58 and 59).

In the spirit of perestroika VOK now accepts foreign members (institutional and individual) and can confer honorary membership. The VOK Charter is the first adopted by a social organisation in the Soviet Union to authorise foreign economic activities of all kinds, an important development in principle with implications far beyond the world of books.<sup>3</sup>

Although the acronym VOK remains, the Society approved a change of name from the rather awkward All-Union Society of Lovers of the Book (and although that is a literal translation of *biblio philos*, it does not convey the seriousness of book collecting which the expression *bibliofil* does in the Russian language) to the All-Union Society of the Book (*Vsesoiuznoe obshchestvo 'Kniga'*).

<sup>1</sup> See W. E. Butler, ‘The All-Union Society of Bibliophiles’, *Solanus* 1 (1987), pp. 76–87.

<sup>2</sup> See for example V. Ogryzko, ‘Kogo ob’ediniaet VOK?’, *Slovo: v mire knig*, 1989 no. 9, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> On the first fifteen years of VOK, with attention to its predecessor societies, see G. F. Garin, *Vsesoiuznoe obshchestvo liubitelei knigi: istoriia, opyt raboty, problemy* (1989).

## CHARTER OF THE ALL-UNION SOCIETY 'KNIGA'

[Adopted at the Constitutive Congress of the All-Union Voluntary Society of Bibliophiles (1974), With Changes Made at the II (1979), III (1984), and IV (1989) Congresses of the Society]

### I. General Provisions

1. The All-Union Society 'Kniga' shall be a union of societies of bibliophiles of the USSR, a self-governing, voluntary social organization uniting readers and propagandists of the book and carrying out its activities on the basis of full economic accountability, self-financing, and non-subsidy in accordance with the USSR Constitution, prevailing legislation, and the present Charter.

2. The principal task of the Society shall be the development of the culture of the peoples of the USSR in the sphere of the book and of reading, promoting the efficient use of book funds of the country and personal book collections, the development of book publishing and book distribution, and the realization of the requirements of and the protection of the interests of its members.

3. The Society shall structure its work on the basis of programmatic documents of the Party and the State, the initiative and amateur activity of its members and associations in close contact with the founding organizations: the State Committee of the USSR for the Press, the USSR Ministry of Culture, the State Committee of the USSR for Public Education, the All-Union Central Consumers Union, the All-Union Central Trade Union Council, the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League, the Union of Writers of the USSR, and their local agencies, and other interested State and social organizations and creative unions.

4. In order to achieve its purposes, the Society and its organizations shall:
- (a) propagandize and disseminate the book, actively influence the formation of readers' tastes, inculcate a love for reading, and promote the enhancement of the culture thereof and the satisfaction in every possible way of the spiritual interests and demands of readers;
  - (b) independently and jointly with interested organizations:
    - create social councils and sections, clubs of bibliophiles, bookstore clubs, peoples' bookstores and kiosks, school cooperatives, social libraries, literary guest evenings, video salons, and houses and museums of the book, book affairs, well-known literary figures, and of public figures of science and cultures;
    - promote the expansion of the network of mobile forms of library servicing of the populace and the work of personal libraries open for public use;
    - carry on philanthropic activity, collect literature from the populace for transfer to childrens' homes, boarding schools, military hospitals, hospitals, disabled veterans of war and labour who require assistance, and take part in financing and implementing programmes of cultural and social assistance;
    - participate in the formation of thematic plans of publishing houses in the work of formalizing advance orders for literature;
  - (c) organize creative meetings of readers with the authors of books and workers of publishing houses, readers' conferences and literary evenings, conversations, lectures, book premieres and holidays, excursions to literary places, exhibitions of books and bookplates, lotteries, book exchanges, and auctions of books and engravings;

- (d) enhance the knowledge of Society members in the domain of book culture, book studies, bibliography, and antiquarian bookselling, and hold meetings and exchange experience among bibliophiles;
- (e) carry on publishing activity, publish the *Al'manakh bibliofila*, other periodical and non-serial publications, books of various genres (including *belles-lettres*, scientific-technical, and others), pamphlets, booklets, leaflets, posters, videos, and facsimile and miniature publications;
- (f) carry on production activity regarding the preservation of book collections, render services to the populace, produce consumer goods, polygraphic, and production-technical products, organize production activity on the base of cooperatives and of joint enterprises with foreign firms, print all types of literature;
- (g) carry on methods work, work out and disseminate the most effective forms and methods of propaganda of the book, and hold competitions;
- (h) realize among its members literature published by the organizations and enterprises of the Society, other publishing houses, enterprises, and organizations, including with the participation of cooperatives; take part in the dissemination of subscription publications;
- (i) cooperate with analogous non-governmental international and national societies of foreign countries, and national associations of bibliophiles and bookplate collectors;
- (j) carry on foreign economic activities;
- (k) carry on other activities corresponding to the purposes and tasks of the Society.

## II. *Members of the Society, Their Rights and Duties*

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- 5. There may be members of the Society:
  - (a) citizens of the USSR who acknowledge its Charter and wish to take part in resolving the tasks confronting the Society, working in one of its associations, and annually paying the membership dues;
  - (b) pupils of schools of general education and other educational institutions who unite into youth sections of friends of the book operating on the basis of a Statute confirmed by the Central Board of the Society;
  - (c) State enterprises, institutions, and organizations, collective farms and State farms, educational institutions, cooperatives, and social organizations wishing to facilitate the activities of the Society and its associations (collective members);
  - (d) foreign citizens and organizations who express a wish to cooperate with VOK.

- 6. Individual members shall be admitted by a primary organization, and collective members by the presidiums of the boards of districts (or city), regional, territory, or republic (ASSR) organizations.

The admission of foreign members and organizations shall be effected by the Central Board of VOK and by the boards of union republic societies and of the City of Moscow.

A member of the Society shall be given a membership card and a lapel badge; a collective member of a Society shall be issued a card of the established form.

- 7. A member of the Society shall have the right to:
  - (a) participate in all organizational, propagandist, production, publishing, and methods activities of the Society;

- (b) participate with the right of a casting vote in meetings of Society members and criticize any worker in any organ of VOK;
- (c) elect and be elected to the executive organs of the Society and participate in the discussion of all questions considered at seminars, meetings, conferences, and congresses of the Society;
- (d) make proposals to the executive organs of the Society, State organs, and social organizations directed toward effecting the goals and tasks of VOK, and participate in their realization;
- (e) receive advice from Society organizations regarding methods of work with the book, with forming personal libraries, and using methods materials, visual aids, and technical means of propaganda;
- (f) take priority advantage of the material base of the Society and the services of its enterprises and studios, as well as work with cooperatives attached to it;
- (g) enjoy a preferential right to acquire literature published by the Society and its organizations as well as publications ordered by and allotted to the Society by book trade organizations;
- (h) demand from executive organs of the Society any information affecting their activities.

8. Members of the Society shall be awarded for active work a lapel badge, certificate, diploma, commemorative lapel badge and shall be encouraged with books, cash bonus, commemorative gift, tourist voucher, and other types of incentive.

For a substantial personal contribution to resolving the tasks confronting the Society, the title 'Honorary Member of the All-Union Society "Kniga"' may be conferred on citizens of the USSR and foreign countries by the Presidium of the Central Board, a lapel badge and a diploma being presented.

For many years of active service in the propaganda of the book, the most distinguished members of the Society may be proposed by the Board of the Society for State awards and the conferment of titles of honour.

### *III. Organizational Structure of the Society*

9. The Society shall comprise on a voluntary basis the societies of lovers of the book of the union republics and the City of Moscow, primary organizations which unite in territories, regions, autonomous republics and national areas, cities, districts, clubs of bibliophiles, bibliophile associations, and other entities.

10. The Society shall be structured on the principles of the electivity of the executive organs and their periodic accountability to their organizations and to superior organs of the Society, the adoption of decisions by majority vote, self-management, and collegiality and glasnost in the work of the executive organs.

During the elections of executive organs, Society members shall have the unrestricted right to nominate candidates and to challenge and criticize any of them.

Elections before time of any organ may be held at the request of not less than one-third of the members of the Society which direct the organizations or in which they are united.

In the event a member of an elected organ does not justify the trust placed in him, he may be withdrawn by majority vote of the participants of the plenary session of the respective organ and, in a primary organization, by the participants of the meeting.

#### IV. *Highest Organs of the Society*

11. The highest agencies of VOK, the union republic societies, and the City of Moscow shall be congresses, and in republics (ASSR), territories, regional, national area, city, and district organizations, shall be conferences convoked by the respective boards once every five years. The convocation and work procedure of the All-Union Congress shall be announced not later than six, and of the congresses of the union republic societies and the conferences of local organizations, not less than three months before they commence work.

The norms of representation and the procedure for electing delegates of congresses and conferences shall be established by the boards of the respective societies and organizations.

Congresses and conferences shall be considered empowered if not less than half the elected delegates are present at them.

12. Congresses and conferences shall:

- (a) discuss the reports of boards and auditing commissions;
- (b) determine the basic orientation of the activities of societies and organizations;
- (c) elect by open or secret ballot (at the discretion of the congress or conference) members of the boards and the auditing commission;
- (d) congresses of the societies of union republics and of the City of Moscow shall elect delegates to the All-Union Congress; conferences of republic (ASSR), territory, and regional organizations, to the congresses of union republic societies; city and district organizations, to the conferences of republic (ASSR), territory, national area, and regional organizations, and where there are no regional divisions, to congresses of societies of union republics;
- (e) the congress of the All-Union Society shall confirm and make changes in and additions to the Charter of the Society. Congresses and conferences of organizations of societies of union and autonomous republics and the City of Moscow shall have the right to adopt charters of the societies, taking into account the provisions of the Charter of VOK and national traditions.

13. The executive organ of the All-Union and republic societies, of the City of Moscow, and of republic (ASSR), territory, regional, national area, city, and district organizations between congresses and conferences shall be the respective boards. Plenary sessions of the boards shall be held not less than once a year. The sessions shall be considered empowered when not less than half of the board members participate.

14. The central boards, the boards of the societies of the union republics and the City of Moscow, and of republic (ASSR), territory, regional, national area, city and district organizations shall:

- (a) coordinate the activities of the respective societies, organizations, and associations of bibliophiles in the interval between congresses and conferences and implement decisions of the congresses and conferences;
- (b) elect from among members of the board the executive organ—the presidium of the board composed of a chairman, deputy chairman, executive secretary of the board (when necessary), and members of the presidium in a number determined by the boards;
- (c) hear reports on the activities of the presidiums of the boards;

(d) effectuate control over compliance with the charters of the All-Union and republic societies and the fulfilment of decisions of the congresses and conferences.

15. The central board, the boards of societies of union republics and the City of Moscow, and of republic (ASSR), territory, regional, national and area organizations shall create production enterprise and publishing houses working on full economic accountability and self-financing.

16. The presidiums of the Central Board of VOK, the boards of societies of union republics and the City of Moscow, and of republic (ASSR), territory, regional, and national area organizations shall:

- (a) in the interval between plenums of the boards carry on practical work relating to the fulfilment of decisions of the congresses, conferences and plenums;
- (b) create social councils and sections;
- (c) effectuate moral and material incentives for organizations and members of the Society;
- (d) open accounts in branches of the State Bank;
- (e) in order to carry on current work create a bureau which operates on the basis of a Statute confirmed by the presidium.

17. The presidiums of city and district organizations shall:

- (a) coordinate the work of primary organizations and other associations of the Society;
- (b) effectuate the fulfilment of decisions of congresses, conferences, and plenums;
- (c) effectuate moral and material incentives for organizations and members of the Society;
- (d) represent their organization in State, social, and cooperative organizations.

## *V. Primary Organizations of the Society*

18. Primary organizations shall be the foundation of the Society and shall be created, as a rule, at a place of work, study and residence where there are not less than ten individual members. The rights of primary organizations may be granted to associations of Society members in accordance with their interests.

19. A meeting of a primary organization and associations equated thereto shall elect by open ballot a chairman and a treasurer not less than once every five years. Primary organizations who number fifty and more members of the Society shall elect a bureau and an auditing commission. The bureau shall elect a chairman and a treasurer.

20. The general meeting of a primary organization shall assemble as necessary, but not less than once a year and shall be empowered if not less than half the members are present at it.

21. The primary organization of the Society shall:

- (a) realize the initiative of its members in the cause of propaganda of the book and of reading;
- (b) take part in measures carried on by VOK;
- (c) promote the efficient use of book funds as well as of personal libraries of members of the Society; organize premieres of books, readers' conferences, debates, literary evenings, competitions, and book exhibitions; promote the study of the history of the

art of the book, the bookplate, and graphics, book publishing, and librarianship; promote the exchange of books, the purchase of books, and the preservation of library funds, and work with the thematic plans of publishing houses;

- (d) decide questions of membership in the Society;
- (e) make proposals to superior organizations of the Society concerning incentives for active members;
- (f) receive entry and membership dues;
- (g) have the right to use part of the funds received from the collection of individual membership dues within the amounts determined by the superior organization which has an independent balance sheet. Reports concerning the expenditure of such funds shall be confirmed by decision of the meeting of the primary organization.

## VI. *Auditing Commissions of the Society*

22. A central auditing commission, auditing commissions of societies of the union republics, of the City of Moscow, and of republic (ASSR), territory, regional, national area, city, district, and primary organizations of the Society shall be elected by open or secret ballot at congresses, conferences, and meetings by members of the Society who are not members of the respective boards or bureaux.

The auditing commission shall be subordinate directly to the organ which elected it and accountable thereto. The auditing commission shall elect from among its membership a chairman, deputy chairman, and secretary.

23. The auditing commission shall verify the activities of the respective board and enterprises subordinate thereto and, when necessary, the boards of inferior organizations regarding questions of financial-economic activities, compliance with the estimate and personnel discipline, accounts and reports, and the timeliness of considering proposals, applications, and complaints of Society members.

The auditing commission shall conduct planned audits not less than once a year and as necessary. The acts of auditing and auditing commission and its proposals must be discussed at sessions of the presidiums, organization bureaux, and plenums of the respective boards, meetings, and bureaux of primary organizations of the Society.

The auditing act shall, when necessary, be sent to the board of the superior organization.

Auditing commissions shall, jointly with the boards of societies and their organizations, render methods assistance to auditing commissions of inferior organizations.

Expenses connected with the activities of the auditing commissions shall be relegated to those of the respective board.

## VII. *Assets of the Society*

24. Assets of the Society shall be formed from:

- (a) revenues from measures relating to the propaganda of the book;
- (b) revenues from publishing activities;
- (c) revenues from production activities;
- (d) revenues from the realization of literature and polygraphic products;

- (e) entry and membership dues of individual members;
- (f) voluntary contributions of collective members, organizations, and individuals; revenues from the sale of stocks, and other receipts.

25. Members of the Society shall pay an entry fee in the amount established by the boards of the societies of union republics and, annually, membership dues in the amount of one ruble.

Students of higher and pupils of secondary specialized educational institutions shall be exempted from the payment of entry dues, paying annual membership dues in the amount of ten kopecks. The question of paying membership dues by school children and pupils at vocational-technical schools shall be decided by the boards of the societies of the union republics, the City of Moscow, and republic (ASSR), territory, and regional organizations. The payment of dues by direct debit for pupils of schools, technical institutes, and vocational-technical schools, and for students of institutions of higher education from their earnings shall be permitted. Pupils at children's homes and boarding schools, as well as disabled persons, shall be exempt from the payment of dues.

26. Membership dues and other cash receipts shall be deposited to the current account of the respective board in the State Bank.

## VIII. *On the Rights of Organizations of the Society as Juridical Persons*

27. The Central Board of VOK and its chairman shall, when carrying on economic activities, enjoy the rights provided for by prevailing legislation for the directors of union ministries and departments and shall confirm the structure and scheme of post-salaries for workers of the board. Societies, and the boards of societies of union republics and their chairman, shall enjoy the rights of the directors of ministries and departments of union republics.

The Central Board of the Society and the boards of societies of union republics shall have the right to:

- confirm statutes on payments for labour and incentives for propagandists of the book and other activists of the Society;
- determine ticket prices for measures relating to propaganda of the book for which admission is being charged;
- establish prices for their own publishing and other products;
- establish five-year normative standards for deductions for organizations within their jurisdiction and for the boards of societies; for the formation of the production and social development funds; and for the local budget.

28. The Central Board of VOK, the boards of societies of union republics and of the City of Moscow, and of republic (ASSR), territory, regional, national area, as well as of city and district organizations which have an independent balance sheet, shall have the right:

- (a) of publishing activities for the issuance of *belles-lettres* and other types of literature and the creation for this purpose of publishing houses and printing shops;
- (b) to create museums, houses of the book and creativity, literary theatres, video salons, cultural-domestic centres, leisure bases, shops, and other trade enterprises, create their own production and individual sectors, and also work places for recruiting disabled persons for labour activities;

- (c) to pay specialists who work at the Society increments to earnings for an academic degree, title, and the use of a foreign language at work;
- (d) to establish contacts with associations of readers and analogous societies of foreign countries; create and participate in associations and consortiums with State, social, and cooperative organizations;
- (e) to carry on foreign economic activities in accordance with prevailing legislation, including the creation of joint enterprises, trade houses, joint stock societies, hold exhibitions, fairs and auctions, and open representations abroad. To carry on export-import operations to ensure all types of activities and the socio-cultural and domestic development of VOK, and open accounts in the Vneshekonombank SSSR.

29. The right to dispose of credits shall belong to the chairman of the respective board and to the first deputy chairman, with the right to transfer this right to other officials.

30. The Central Board of the Society, the boards of the societies of union republics and the City of Moscow, and the republic (ASSR), territory, regional, national area, city, and district organizations which have an independent balance sheet shall be juridical persons and shall have a seal and a stamp with their respective names.

31. The boards of the societies of the City of Moscow, republic (ASSR), territory, regional, national area, city, and district organizations which have an independent balance sheet and production enterprises shall be guided in their activities by the present Charter and the provisions of the Law on the State Enterprise (or Association).

32. The Central Board of VOK shall be situated in the City of Moscow, and the boards of the societies of union republics in the capitals of the union republics.

33. The Society shall terminate its activities by decision of the All-Union Congress.

Translated from *Knizhnoe Obozrenie*, no. 48 (1 December 1989), pp. 14–15.

# Two Rare Russian Printed Books in the Collections of the New York Public Library: The Moscow *Gospels* of 1606 and the *Chasovnik* of 1630

Ia. D. Isajevych  
with the assistance of R. H. Davis

The New York Public Library (NYPL) holds North America's largest and most diverse collection of Slavonic early-printed books and manuscripts. Among them are works by the first East Slavic printers Schweipolt Fiol (his *Pentecostal*, 1491), Frantsysk Skaryna (a newly acquired fragment of the Bible, 1519), and Ivan Fedorov (both the *Apostols*, 1564 and 1574, an Ostroh Bible, 1581, and a fragment of the *New Testament and Psalter*, 1580). The collection also includes books published in Russia (among them an undated *Gospels* from the Moscow 'anonymous' press and the 1647 Russian translation of Johann Jacobi von Wallhausen's infantry manual), the Ukraine (several liturgical and theological books of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, for example Ostroh editions of works by St John Chrysostom and the Kiev *Sluzhebnik* of 1620), and Belorussia (the Kuteino 1653 edition of Pamvo Berynda's *Lexicon*).<sup>1</sup>

The Library recently expanded its collection through the acquisition of nineteen Slavonic printed books and one manuscript from the collection of the late Monsignor Basil Shereghy (1918–1988). Dating from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth centuries, the texts include some remarkable examples of printing in Church Slavonic type, including one of the earliest Bulgarian cyrillic imprints, printed in Rîmnic, Romania (the 1806 edition of *Kiriakodromion*), and a beautifully illustrated 1669 Kiev edition of the sermons of Innokentii Gisel', Archimandrite of the Kiev Monastery of the Caves, entitled 'Peace of Man with God'.

Many of the books in the NYPL collection contain inscriptions which are important sources for reconstructing the history of the books' ownership and dissemination. There are also books with fine bindings and other distinguishing features.

Although the largest collection of old Slavic books and manuscripts is in the Slavic and Baltic Division, other items are also held by other departments

<sup>1</sup> Robert Mathiesen, 'Church Slavonic Books in The New York Public Library: A Preliminary Catalogue', *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities*, vol. 87, no. 4 (1986–1987), 1989, pp. 404–17; E. Kasinec, 'Notes on Old Cyrillic Books and Manuscripts in American Repositories', *Polata knigopisnaja*, 3 (March 1980), pp. 12–19; and a forthcoming article by Robert H. Davis, Jr. on the Russian and East European materials in the Spencer Collection of the New York Public Library.

of the Library, namely the Rare Books Division, the Manuscripts Division, and the Spencer Collection.

The present paper is devoted to copies of two seventeenth-century Moscow printed books. The first of these, held by the Spencer Collection, is interesting because of its hand-coloured ornaments and miniatures, and the second, in the collection of the Slavic and Baltic Division, because it has not been previously described in the bibliographic and scholarly literature.

★

The *Gospels* (*Evangelie*) published by Anisim Mikhailovich Radishevskii (Onysym Mykhailovych Radyshevs'kyi) was printed in Moscow in 1606. This book is very rare outside the Soviet Union. The files of the Commission which is preparing the union catalogue of old cyrillic and glagolitic imprints indicate no copy of this book in any Western library.<sup>2</sup> The copy of Radishevskii's *Gospels* was purchased for the Spencer Collection of the NYPL in 1937 and, as far as we know, it is one of only three copies of the book on the American continent, the other two being in the Harvard College Library and in the private collection of the Rev. Basil Stroyen and Nina Bohush of Hunlock Creek, Pennsylvania.

The publisher and printer of this book, Radishevskii, occupies a unique place in the history of Russian culture of the first half of the seventeenth century. A Ukrainian by birth, he came to Moscow in 1586, probably from Ostroh (Ukraine), the site of a famous press<sup>3</sup> and of the no less famous 'trilingual' Academy.<sup>4</sup> In Moscow archival records of the late sixteenth century, he is described as 'a bookbinder of printed books'. In the afterword of the Moscow 1606 *Gospels* he refers to himself as a *Volynets* (i.e. a native of Volhynia, a region in the Ukraine).<sup>5</sup> The second book printed by Radishevskii was the *Ustav tserkovnyi* (Order of Church Services) of 1610, with an afterword containing a paraphrase of a passage from the preface to the Ostroh Bible of 1581, in which the name of Prince Konstantyn Ostroz'kyi is replaced by the name of the Tsar, Vasili Shuiskii. The book was condemned by the authorities, and some copies of it were destroyed. Thereafter, Radishevskii was engaged as a military engineer and became an outstanding figure in the

<sup>2</sup> Iu. A. Labyntsev, 'Predvaritel'nyi spisok staropechatnykh izdanii kirillovskogo shrifta pervoi chetverti XVIIv.', in *V pomoshch' sostaviteliam svodnogo kataloga staropechatnykh izdanii kirillovskogo i glagolicheskogo shriftov*, edited by E. L. Nemirovskii, 7 (Moscow, 1982), p. 26, no. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Ia. D. Isaevich, *Preemniki pervoapechatnika* (Moscow, 1981), pp. 6–20.

<sup>4</sup> I. N. Golenishchev-Kutuzov rightly considered the Ostroh Academy to be an ancestor of all East Slavic universities. See I. Golenishchev-Kutuzov, 'Ukrainskii i belorusskii gumanizm', in his *Slavianskie literatury* (Moscow, 1978), p. 183.

<sup>5</sup> Ia. D. Isaevych, *Pershodruk Ivan Fedorov i vynyknennia drukarstva na Ukraini*, 2nd ed. (Lviv, 1983), pp. 72–3.

Moscow Ordnance Office (*Pushkarskii prikaz*).<sup>6</sup> During this period he compiled from foreign sources (mostly from Leonhardt Fronsberger's *Kriegsbuch*<sup>7</sup>) the first Muscovite Russian book on military equipment and engineering, the *Ustav ratnykh pushechnykh, i drugikh del kasaiushchikhsia do voinskiiia nauki* (*Order of Troop, Gun, and other Matters Related to Military Science*). Some old manuscript copies of the book state that it was compiled by 'Anisim Mikhailov', but the identification of this man with Radishevskii could not be confirmed until a copy which included his surname was discovered.<sup>8</sup>

The uniqueness of the NYPL copy of Radishevskii's 1606 *Gospels* lies in the illumination of its woodcuts. Such illumination was common in the West during the incunable and early-printing periods, beginning with the Gutenberg 42-line Bible in the 1450s. In some copies of old cyrillic books, the woodcuts (illustrations, ornaments and initials) were primitively coloured by their owners or readers, but the illumination of cyrillic imprints by professional miniaturists was an extremely rare phenomenon. A surviving example of such artistic colouring of ornaments is found in the copy of Ivan Fedorov's *New Testament and Psalter* (Ostroh, 1580), now in the library of Moscow State University.<sup>9</sup> As far as the Radishevskii *Gospels* of 1606 is concerned, some copies were coloured at the press. A. A. Sidorov describes a beautifully illuminated copy in the Lenin State Library in Moscow, and suggests that this copy was coloured by the artist who made the drawings for the block-cutters. Judging from Sidorov's description, the colouring is stylistically close to the colouring of the New York Public Library and Harvard copies. However, the NYPL copy of the Radishevskii *Gospels* is perhaps more richly illuminated than the other copies described in monographs and printed catalogues.

In cyrillic printed books of liturgical content, titles, names of rubrics, figures and symbols indicating the order of readings were often distinguished by rubrication. But in the New York copy of Radishevskii, the red letters and punctuation marks on initial pages, the lists of chapters and the first pages of each Gospel are decorated with gilding (ff. 1–14, 128–135 of the first foliation, and 1–6, 126, 132 of the second foliation). The full-page engravings of the

<sup>6</sup> M. A. Petrushenko, 'Drukari XVII st. Onysym Radyshevs'kyi', in *Ukrains'ka knyha* (Kiev and Kharkiv, 1965).

<sup>7</sup> First published in Frankfurt in 1573; the fourth edition appeared in 1596.

<sup>8</sup> The title was applied to Radishevskii's 'Military Book' (*Voinskaia kniga*) by its first publisher, the archaeologist and journalist of Ukrainian descent V. H. Ruban. A copy of Ruban's edition of 1772 is in the University of California, Berkeley Library (catalogued under the name Onisim Mikhailov). On Ruban's publishing activity see David Saunders, *The Ukrainian Impact on Russian Culture, 1750–1850* (Edmonton, Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1985), pp. 119–26.

<sup>9</sup> I. V. Pozdeeva, I. D. Kashkarova and M. M. Lerenman, *Katalog knig kirillicheskoi pechati XV–XVII vv. Nauchnoi Biblioteki MGU* (Moscow, 1980), pp. 40–1.



The Evangelist Matthew. Coloured woodcut from the *Gospels*, Moscow, 1606. NYPL Spencer Collection. Photographer Robert D. Rudic, New York City.

Evangelists are illuminated in the style found in miniatures in contemporary Russian manuscript books. The range of colours is rich and includes deep tints of red, green, blue and gold. The faces of the saints are modelled with subtle gradations of tone. The same colours are used for colouring the ornamental headpieces. On the first page of each of the four Gospels floral ornamental framing is added, including stylized leaves, flowers and buds. The title page of the last chapter of the book, the *Sobornik* (the calendar of feasts and index of the festal services), is also decorated by hand. The *Sobornik*'s title page as well as the pages with the illuminations of the Evangelists are protected by bound-in sheets of translucent fabric equal in size to the book's pages. Strips of paper with painted decoration are attached along the borders of these interleaves. Thus the pictures appear to be framed when seen through the protective sheets. Such protective sheets are also found in the Harvard copy, which, although less sumptuous, was undoubtedly illuminated in the same shop, and perhaps by the same artist.

We have no direct evidence as to where the illumination took place. The skill of the miniaturist, however, suggests that the work can be ascribed to one of the leading Moscow scriptoria connected with the press, or to the press itself, as was suggested by A. A. Sidorov as regards the copy described in his monograph.<sup>10</sup>

## ★

For centuries, the *Chasoslov* (*Book of Hours*) was extremely popular not only as a prayer book, but also as a book used in elementary education, in all East Slavic countries. The abridged version of the *Book of Hours* was known as the *Chasovnik*, and later also as *Uchebnyi chasovnik* (Pedagogical Book of Hours). The traditional sequence of Church Slavonic educational works was as follows: Primer, Book of Hours, Psalter. It is no wonder that Books of Hours and Psalters were published more frequently than any other book. For example, after the appearance of the *Apostol* of 1564, Ivan Fedorov and Petr Mstislavets published two further editions of the *Chasovnik* (7 VIII to 29 IX 1565 and 2 IX to 29 X 1565).<sup>11</sup> The next surviving edition dates from 1618, and from 1618 to 1640 fourteen editions have been described in various bibliographies.<sup>12</sup> To these should be added five or six editions not described

<sup>10</sup> A. A. Sidorov, *Istoriia oformlenii russkoi knigi* (Moscow, 1946), p. 86, and his *Drevnerusskaia knizhnaia graviura* (Moscow, 1951).

<sup>11</sup> E. L. Nemirovskii, *Vozniknovenie knigopechataniia v Moskve: Ivan Fedorov* (Moscow, 1964), pp. 312–19, and his *Ivan Fedorov, okolo 1510–1583* (Moscow, 1985), pp. 109–11.

<sup>12</sup> A. S. Zernova, *Knigi kirillovskoi pechati izdannye v Moskve v XVI–XVII vekakh: svodnyi katalog* (Moscow, 1958), pp. 27–54.

Часо<sup>вн</sup>къ Дми<sup>т</sup>ри<sup>и</sup> Ти<sup>м</sup>ео<sup>дор</sup>у<sup>с</sup> Ег<sup>ор</sup>а<sup>в</sup> Страго<sup>в</sup>о<sup>ед</sup>.  
 и<sup>бо</sup>и<sup>и</sup> к<sup>а</sup>п<sup>у</sup> т<sup>и</sup> н<sup>е</sup>ж<sup>е</sup> н<sup>е</sup>з<sup>в</sup>о<sup>л</sup>и<sup>н</sup>  
 д<sup>и</sup>м<sup>п</sup>р<sup>о</sup> к<sup>а</sup>п<sup>у</sup> т<sup>и</sup> н<sup>е</sup>ж<sup>е</sup> н<sup>е</sup>з<sup>в</sup>о<sup>л</sup>и<sup>н</sup>.  
 д<sup>и</sup>ш<sup>а</sup> е<sup>го</sup> в<sup>о</sup>бл<sup>и</sup>г<sup>и</sup>х<sup>ъ</sup> в<sup>о</sup>  
 д<sup>в</sup>ор<sup>и</sup>т<sup>с</sup>я . н<sup>е</sup>с<sup>м</sup>а<sup>л</sup>  
 е<sup>го</sup> на с<sup>л</sup>е<sup>д</sup>и з<sup>е</sup>м<sup>ли</sup>.  
 д<sup>е</sup>р<sup>ж</sup>а<sup>в</sup>а<sup>г</sup>ь б<sup>о</sup>л<sup>и</sup>щ<sup>и</sup>м<sup>ъ</sup>  
 в<sup>а</sup>л<sup>е</sup> е<sup>го</sup>, н<sup>е</sup>з<sup>а</sup>в<sup>е</sup>т<sup>ъ</sup> е<sup>го</sup>  
 н<sup>е</sup>в<sup>и</sup>т<sup>ъ</sup> н<sup>и</sup>м<sup>ъ</sup>. о<sup>ч</sup>и м<sup>и</sup>и  
 в<sup>ы</sup>и<sup>н</sup>у<sup>к</sup>о<sup>г</sup>у<sup>с</sup>, я<sup>ко</sup> т<sup>о</sup>и<sup>н</sup>  
 н<sup>е</sup>ст<sup>о</sup>р<sup>г</sup>н<sup>е</sup> ш<sup>е</sup>т<sup>и</sup> н<sup>о</sup>  
 з<sup>ѣ</sup> м<sup>о</sup>и<sup>н</sup>. пр<sup>и</sup>з<sup>р</sup>и<sup>н</sup> на<sup>м</sup>  
 а<sup>л</sup> н<sup>е</sup>п<sup>о</sup>м<sup>и</sup>л<sup>и</sup>н<sup>и</sup> м<sup>а</sup>

bibliographically but mentioned in the archives of the Moscow Press (*Pechatnyi dvor*).<sup>13</sup>

The *Chasovnik* of 16 XI 1630, a copy of which has been discovered in the Slavic and Baltic Division, is unknown to the bibliographers and unrecorded in archival sources. This edition is very similar to other Moscow printings of the work.

The book is printed in black and red and there are eleven lines to the page. The same types (10 lines = 89–90mm) are used in other publications of the period. Complete copies probably had 248 folios. There are no folio or page numbers but the eight-leaf gatherings are signed with cyrillic numbers in the bottom right-hand corner of the first sheet of each gathering. Three initial gatherings (ff. 1/3 to 3/8), folios 11/4, 11/5, 17/4, 26/1, 29/4, and at least three folios at the end of the book are missing from the New York Public Library copy.<sup>14</sup> The binder placed at the beginning of the volume the afterword and eight folios containing the final part of the book (beginning with the title in red *Polunoshchnitsa, po | vsia suboty ...*).

Although the afterword lacks the final leaf, the part with the most important information is preserved. Thus we know that the book was published by order of Tsar Mikhail Fedorovich and with the blessing of his father, the Patriarch of Moscow, Filaret. Archival records, summaries of which have recently been published by I. V. Pozdeeva,<sup>15</sup> contain data about chronologically close editions of the *Chasovnik*, namely those printed from March to May 1630 (no copy is recorded) and from 2 VI 1630 to 23 II 1631 (two copies, one in the Lenin Library in Moscow and the other in the Saltykov-Shchedrin Library in Leningrad).<sup>16</sup> Both were printed on the newly acquired tenth press which was operated by the compositors Ivan Minin and Ivan Danilov.<sup>17</sup> The printing of the latter took an unusually long time, so that the New York Public Library *Chasovnik*, though begun much later, was completed much earlier than the *Chasovnik* of 23 II 1631. The printing of this newly described *Chasovnik* took little more than a month: it began on 12 X 1639 (i.e. 1630 A.D.) and was completed on 16 XI of the same year.

A comparison of the New York Public Library *Chasovnik* with microfilms of the 1618 and 1631 editions<sup>18</sup> shows that the texts coincide page for page,

<sup>13</sup> I. V. Pozdeeva, *Novye materialy dlja opisanija izdanii moskovskogo Pechatnogo dvora* (Moscow, 1986), pp. 23–38, nos. 13, 16, 30, 44, 61, 75.

<sup>14</sup> Here and later in this article the first number is the signature and the second is the number of the folio in the gathering, e.g. 1/3 indicates the third leaf of the first gathering.

<sup>15</sup> I. V. Pozdeeva, *Novye materialy* (note 13), pp. 30–1, nos. 44–50.

<sup>16</sup> A. S. Zernova, *Knigi* (note 12), no. 84.

<sup>17</sup> I. V. Pozdeeva, *Novye materialy* (note 13), p. 31.

<sup>18</sup> These titles were consulted on films borrowed from the collection of the Center for Research Libraries (Chicago).

ШЕМЕРТИ . СЕГО РАДИ  
ОСТНІА . ІАВНІА ВЕ  
ЛІН ТАЙННИКЪ ЕЖІА  
БЛАГОДАТИ , БЛА  
ТРІ . НКО , ПІСАНЪ  
ВІРЕ . ВІХОБОТ8 . ТРІ .  
ГЛА , В . АПЛН ПРРЦЫ  
НМЧНЦЫ , СТНТЕЛІЕ  
ПРПЕНІЇН НПРАВЕДНЇН.  
НЖЕ ДОБРЪ ПОДВНГЪ  
ІКОНЧАВШЕ , НВЕР8

Pray excuse your remitter. Will you make  
Tues. evening, 5-4 for my next talk, May.

line for line, at least on those pages which are extant for all three copies. There are only minor variants in orthography, punctuation and abbreviations. As a rule, the typesetting of the 1631 *Chasovnik* is more primitive than that of the newly discovered *Chasovnik* of 16 XI 1630. For example, on f. 134r (line 6) in the 1630 edition there is the red-ink title *Psalom*'', 6. In the next edition this title is included in the line which ends with the last word of the preceding paragraph: *esi ... Psalm*, 6. In the 1630 edition f. 210v. begins with the title *tropar'*, *glas*'', 8''. In 1631 the word *tropar'* is abbreviated (*Trop*) and the last letter of the word *glas*'' is placed over the line. This allowed the text of the paragraph to begin on the same line as the text of its title: *tro(p) gla(s)* 8. *Svy.* From this it is evident that the compositor of the *Chasovnik* of 16 XI 1630 was more skilled than his colleague who prepared the subsequent edition. The *Chasovniks* of 1630 and 1631 have identical signatures and texts of afterwords; only the dates of printing differ.

The sequence of chapters in the 1630 *Chasovnik* is the same as in all Moscow editions from 1565 to 1652 of both variants of the *Book of Hours* (*Chasovnik* and *Chasoslov*). The text begins with the vespers services (*vechernia*). The same order is found in the Venice edition of 1566 by Iakov Kraikov, as well as in the Zabludau *Psalter and Book of Hours* of 1570 and in the Ostroh *Chasoslov* of 1612. But in manuscript Books of Hours, as well as in the first printed Church Slavonic edition—that of Schweipolt Fiol's Cracow press from the year 1491—the sequence of chapters was different, the first being the *Polunoshchnitsa*.<sup>19</sup> This order was later adopted in Ukrainian editions of the *Chasoslov*, beginning with the L'viv version of 1609, and by Moscow editions commencing with Patriarch Nikon's *Chasoslov* of 1653.<sup>20</sup>

The section titles in the Moscow *Chasovnik* of 16 XI 1630 are the same as in previous Moscow editions of the book. Following titles are rendered with ornamental ligatured letters (*viaz'*): 'KANON PRĒSTEI BTSY' (ff. 24–42); 'TROPARI BOGORODICHNY' (ff. 27–82).

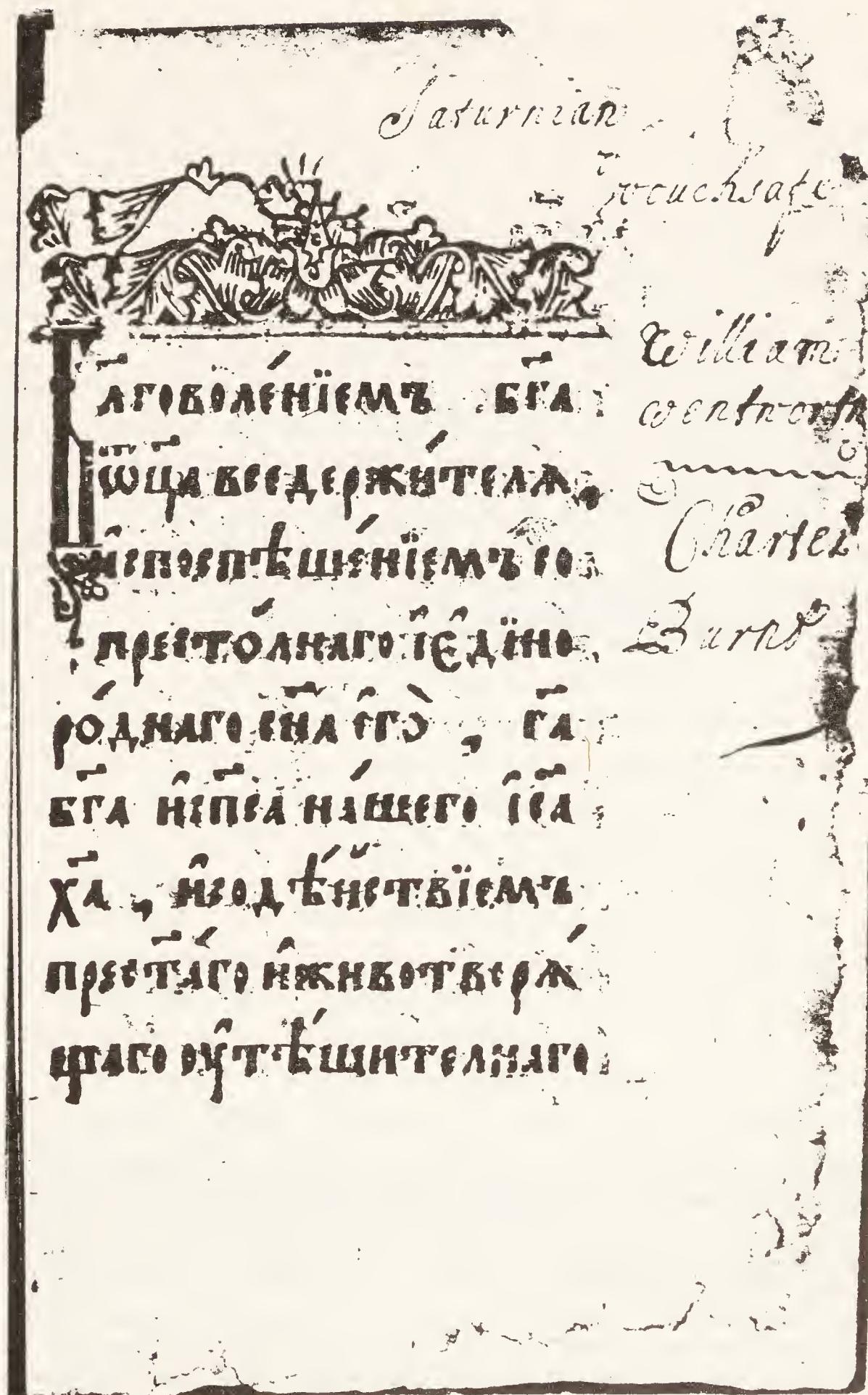
There are only three ornamental headpieces (*zastavki*) in the surviving pages. The headpiece on the first leaf is the same as that used in the *Chasovnik* of 13 VIII 1639 on ff. 25 and 29 (no. 87 in A. S. Zernova's album).<sup>21</sup> The twenty-second gathering opens with the headpiece reproduced in Zernova's album (no. 332), but which is missing from her separately printed index to the album.<sup>22</sup> Finally, the headpiece on leaf 27/6 was used earlier in the *Chasovnik* of 13 VII 1639 on ff. 86, 133, 215, 229.

<sup>19</sup> E. L. Nemirovskii, *Nachalo slavianskogo knigopechataniia* (Moscow, 1971), p. 133.

<sup>20</sup> The sequence of texts in Church Slavonic Books of Hours is discussed by the author elsewhere. See Isaievych, *Literaturna spadshchyna Ivana Fedorova* (L'viv, 1989), pp. 60–3.

<sup>21</sup> A. S. Zernova, *Ornamentika knig moskovskoi pechatи XVI–XVII vekov* (Moscow, 1952).

<sup>22</sup> A. S. Zernova, *Ukazatel' k al'bomu ornamentiki knig moskovskoi pechatи XVI–XVII vekov* (Moscow, 1952).



*Chasovnik*, Moscow, 16 XI 1630, the first page of the afterword (bound at the beginning of the copy).

In the late seventeenth century the name of Thomas Strafford was inscribed in the New York Public Library copy in two places: with the year '1691' on f. 4/6v. (partly in Greek letters) and with the year '1699' on f. 14/4r. In the same hand appear several words from the Church Slavonic text of the book. There are other English names and words on other pages: 'William We[n]tworth (f. 1r.);<sup>23</sup> 'son ... Herbert ... Francis Mortimer' (f. 3r.); 'George White' (f. 6/2r.); 'Atherstone 1691' (f. 20/1r.); 'Purefoy, Caldecot' (f. 28/5r.);<sup>24</sup> as well as some others. Some short verses (two lines of a Sapphic stanza) were written probably also in the seventeenth century, both in Latin—'*Nemo tam divos habuit faventes || Crastinum ut possit sibi polliceri*' (f. 19/8)—and English—'Improve your minutes whilst you may || they swiftly fly and for no mortal stay' (f. 28/4r.). It is evident that this copy was brought to England by merchants who traded with Russia.

After the completion of Zernova's catalogue of Moscow imprints, only two dated Moscow editions of the first half of the seventeenth century were located, as a result of the continuous efforts of archeographic expeditions throughout the USSR. The New York copy represents a third. It is an important addition to the union catalogue of the fifteenth- to seventeenth-century cyrillic and glagolitic imprints, now being prepared by a group of bibliographers from the USSR and other countries.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Perhaps this is William Wentworth, Earl of Strafford (1626–1695), son of the famous Thomas Wentworth, First Earl of Strafford, a principal supporter of King Charles I, executed in 1641.

<sup>24</sup> Perhaps Purefoy was a relative of William Purefoy (1580?–1659), a member of Parliament and of the Court which tried Charles I.

<sup>25</sup> The project, headed by Professor E. L. Nemirovskii, provides for the publication of two series of catalogues: general catalogues of imprints of particular centuries, and more detailed descriptions of the book production of individual presses. See E. L. Nemirovskii's article, published in *IX Mizhnarodnyi z'izd slavistiv: istoriia, kultura, folklor ta etnohrafia slovians'kykh narodiv* (Kiev, 1983); *V pomoshch' sostaviteliam svodnogo kataloga staropechatnykh izdanii kirillovskogo i glagolicheskogo shriftov* (Moscow, 1980); and e.g. Iu. A. Labyntsev, *Opisanie izdanii nesvizhskoi tipografii i tipografi Vasiliia Tiapinskogo* (Moscow, 1985).

# Russian and Soviet Illustrated Books and Photographs at the New York Public Library

R. H. Davis, Jr.

Since its formation in 1895, the New York Public Library (NYPL) has assembled one of the Western world's greatest collections of illustrated books and original photographs, depicting virtually all aspects of Russian/Soviet and East European culture. Among the few comparable collections in the West of research materials of this type are those of the Helsinki University Library, the British Library, the Hoover Institution Library, the Library of Congress, and the various special libraries of Harvard University such as that of the Fogg Museum. However, even among those volumes available in other collections, the NYPL's are often distinguished by their provenance: many were once in the personal libraries of various members of the Russian Imperial family, or other notable personages, before being sold by the Soviet state in the 1920s and 1930s.

The single greatest concentration of illustrated Slavica is in the Slavic and Baltic Division, but the holdings of this administrative unit are complemented by almost every curatorial division of 'The Research Libraries' and, surprisingly, by 'The Branch Libraries' system as well. The collections of each unit comprise the warp and woof of a truly outstanding research resource.

For example, in the General Research Division one finds spectacular folio volumes of coloured engravings, such as the collection *A Picture of St. Petersburg, Represented in A Collection of Twenty Interesting Views of the City, the Sledges, and the People*, published in London in 1815, as well as Western-language archaeological plate books and *Reisenliteratur* dealing with Russia. The Art and Architecture Division houses precious eighteenth-century engravings by M. I. Makhaev (1718–1770).<sup>1</sup> The Spencer Collection holds works of historical as well as iconographic value, such as *Istoricheskoe opisanie drevniago Rossiiskago Muzeia* published in Moscow in 1807, containing thirty plates engraved by N. I. Sokolov (17??–18??), and with a signed dedication from A. F. Malinovskii (1762–1840) to P. S. Valuev (1743–1814). The Spencer copy was formerly part of the Imperial library at Tsarskoe Selo. Spencer also possesses a colourful, very rare *Evangelie* of 1606 printed by

<sup>1</sup> On Makhaev, see G. I. Komelova, 'K istorii sozdaniia gravirovannykh vidov Peterburga i ego okrestnostei M. I. Makhaevym', *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha*, XI, pp. 36–56.

A. M. Radishevskii (15??–ca.1630).<sup>2</sup> Among the notable holdings of the Art, Prints, and Photographs Division and the Rare Books Division are rare illuminated manuscripts and engraved books of the Muscovite period, popular prints of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and a collection of approximately three hundred watercolours of ethnic costumes, drawn and hand-coloured in vibrant hues by F. G. Solntsev (1801–1892) during the first half of the nineteenth century. These watercolours came from the personal library of Tsar Nicholas II (1868–1918), and bear his monogram bookplate.

Some particularly striking illustrated book and iconographic materials can be found in the various subdivisions of the Performing Arts Research Center (PARC) at Lincoln Center. The Billy Rose Theatre Collection, for example, contains cinema posters from the Soviet Union going back to the 1930s, and a significant collection of pictures, programmes and scrapbooks (known collectively as the Oliver Sayler Collection) on the Russian stage in the twentieth century, with particular emphasis on the Moscow Art Theatre during the 1920s. Works produced by the World of Art and Russian avant-garde movements are encountered in many divisions of the Research Libraries, but materials in the Theatre Collection are particularly extensive, with original scene designs, costume sketches and caricatures by L. S. Bakst (1866–1924), S. Lissim (1900–1981) and N. S. Goncharova (1881–1962). The Dance Collection, also at PARC, is similarly endowed, with its own holdings of original stage and costume designs by A. N. Benois (1870–1960), M. V. Dobuzhinskii (1875–1957) and M. Chagall (1887–1985), among others. The Dance Collection also maintains voluminous files of iconographic material for researchers with an interest in the Slavic, and particularly the Russian, field, including some six thousand photographic negatives of the ballerina Galina Ulanova (1910– ), five hundred photographs of Nijinsky (1889–1950), covering most of his great roles, as well as personal photographs, and a nine-hour series of technical training films of Leningrad's Kirov Ballet in the Jerome Robbins Film Archive.

The Manuscripts Division—in which one would not expect to encounter illustrated materials—possesses a large number of early Soviet posters, collected on the spot by the American Relief Agency worker H. M. Fleming (1900–1971).

Although the Branch Libraries are best known for their popular, circulating collections, they also include sizeable holdings in the area of Russian

<sup>2</sup> On the Radishevskii *Gospels*, see Ia. D. Isajevych, 'Two Rare Russian Printed Books in the Collections of the New York Public Library', *Solanus*, Vol. 4 (1990). See also Robert Mathiesen, 'Church Slavonic Books in The New York Public Library: A Preliminary Catalog', *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities*, 87 (4), pp. 404–17; and E. Kasinec, 'Slavic and East European Archival and Manuscript Materials in The New York Public Library', *Newsletter of the American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies*, 24 (3), p. 8.



Johann Jakobi von Wallhausen, *Uchenie i khitrost' ratnogo stroeniiia pekhotnykh liudei* (Moscow, Pechatnyi dvor, [1647]).

illustrated children's books, and Soviet posters from the Second World War.

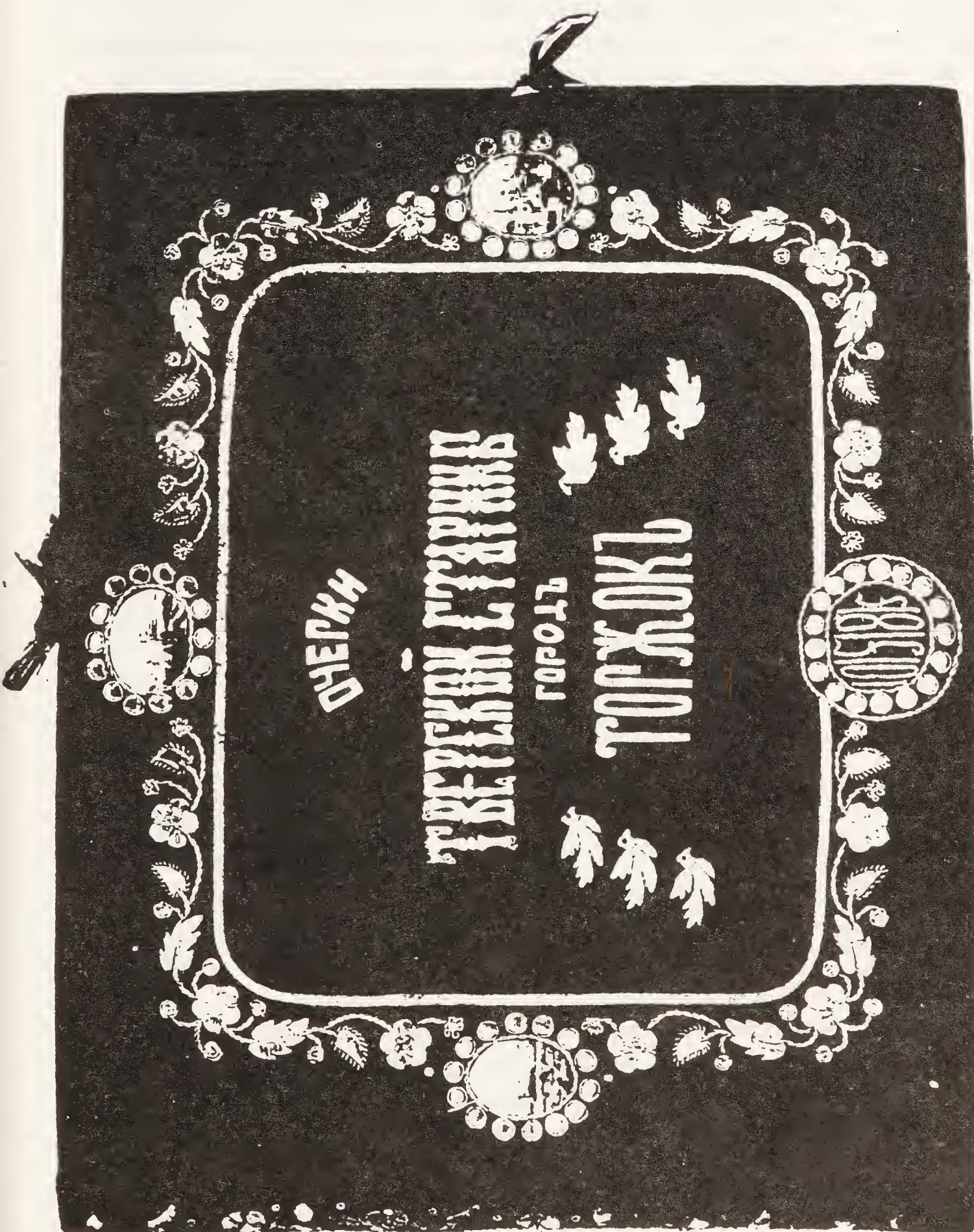
It is especially important to indicate and underline the degree to which the various collections complement one another. By way of example, the Spencer Collection holds the original watercolours of A. P. Bashutskii's (1803–1876) *Panorama Sanktpeterburga*, published in 1834, and an unpublished special presentation volume of the engravings, while the Slavic and Baltic Division holds a copy of the final published album. The Art, Prints, and Photographs Division possesses the published Latin edition of P. S. Pallas's (1741–1811) classic botanical study *Flora Rossica* published in 1784–1788, as well as a sketchbook used in its preparation by the illustrator K. F. Knappe (1745–1808), while Slavic and Baltic holds the published Russian text and plates. The Spencer Collection possesses a copy of the German-language edition of the coronation album of Empress Elizabeth (1709–1762); the Slavic and Baltic Division has the Russian-language edition.

The size and rarity of the Library's illustrated collection are accounted for both by the institution's propitious location at the heart of the largest Russian book market in the United States, with the attendant opportunities for gift and purchase that this facilitates, and by the Library's aggressive purchasing activity in the first three decades of this century. During the 1920s and 1930s, at the time when the Soviet government sold confiscated objects of art, printed books and manuscripts to Western collectors, colporteurs, and directly to library collections, the Library was fortunate to have Avrahm Yarmolinsky (1890–1975) as the Chief of the then Slavonic Division. Erudite and indefatigable, Yarmolinsky travelled to the Soviet Union in 1923–1924 and purchased on-site many of the most spectacular items in the collection.<sup>3</sup> The NYPL's single largest acquisition during this period was the purchase of the 2,000-odd volume library of Grand Duke Vladimir Aleksandrovich (1847–1909), uncle of Nicholas II, in 1931. The Soviet press now openly discusses this long-suppressed episode in Soviet history. The journal *Ogonek*, for example, recently ran a series of articles that were highly critical of the dispersal of Russia's heritage.

## **Illustrated Book and Periodical Materials in the Slavic and Baltic Division**

Illustrative materials fall into two basic categories: firstly, the printed, or *published*, illustrated book materials, which include images reproduced by means of a broad range of processes such as lithography, chromolithography,

<sup>3</sup> On Yarmolinsky's book-buying trip to the Soviet Union in 1923–1924, see Robert A. Karlowich, 'Stranger in a Far Land: Report of a Bookbuying Trip by Harry Miller Lydenberg in Eastern Europe and Russia in 1923–1924', *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities*, 87 (2/3), pp. 182–224.



*Ocherki tverskoi stariny: Gorod Tverzhok* ([s.l., s.n., n.d.]). Embroidered cover. From the collection of the Grand Duke Vladimir Aleksandrovich. Slavic and Baltic Division, NYPL.

wood-engraving, line engraving, photogravure, etching, etc.; and, secondly, *photographica*, or original prints of photographs.

For the first category—published materials—it should be emphasized that such materials are located at many different classmarks in the Slavic and Baltic Division. This article is based on what is numerically the largest and single most apropos classification, the art and architecture classmark (\*QDZ), and the so-called ‘Slavonic Reserve’, or Rare Books collection. Together, these classmarks contain approximately 2,231 illustrated titles dating from the period 1700–1940.<sup>4</sup>

In preparation for a successful grant application aimed at preserving and cataloguing these materials, a sample survey revealed that more than half of the titles held by the Division at these two classmarks were the only copies in the United States.

Rare illustrated book materials of the Imperial period include: every coronation album from Empress Anna’s coronation in 1730 to Nicholas II’s in 1894; a complete copy of *Plan stolichnago goroda Sanktpeterburga* (St Petersburg, 1753), with its panoramic fold-out views of the city; *Opisanie novago Imperatorskago dvortsu v Kremle Moskovskom* (1851), containing interior and exterior coloured views of the Kremlin and its Palace; and A. G. Ukhtomskii’s (1779–1852) 1809 work *Sobranie fasadov*, containing architectural illustrations and numerous aquatints. There are published albums of photographs which are quite rare and often of interesting provenance. For example, the Library’s copy of N. A. Naidenov’s (1834–1905) 1886 album of views of Moscow bears the bookplate of Emperor Alexander III.<sup>5</sup> The Library also holds the supplement to Naidenov’s work, one of 350 copies printed by I. N. Kushnerev & Co., also in 1886. There is D. A. Rovinskii’s (1824–1895) *Vidy Solovetskago monastyria* (St Petersburg, 1884), which is complemented by the Division’s holdings of early original photographs of the Monastery dating from the 1850s; and I. S. Shchedrovskii’s (1815–1870) famous collection of lithographs *Stseny iz russkago narodnago byta* (St Petersburg, 1852), an outstanding work for the study of the images of Russian popular culture. There are illustrated works on architecture, icons and book illumination by I. A. Golyshev (1838–1896), as well as catalogues of Christian ‘antiquities’, including one by N. M. Postnikov (b. 1837?) which appeared in an edition of only 100 copies. The Division also holds a copy of the art historian and archaeologist V. V. Stasov’s (1824–1906) *Slavianskii i vostochnyi*

<sup>4</sup> Illustrative materials are also encountered at many classmarks in the Slavic and Baltic Division, including \*QCT and \*QCT+ (Russian folklore); \*QFE, \*QFE+ (Russian ethnography); \*QGR+ (Russian military and naval arts); \*QPZ, \*QPZ+ (Polish arts); \*QVZ and \*QVZ+ (Czech arts).

<sup>5</sup> N. A. Naidenov, *Snimki s vidov mestnostei, khramov, zdaniii i drugikh sooruzhenii* (Moscow, 1886).



Natal'ia Goncharova, 'The White Eagle', from *Misticheskie obrazy voiny* (Moscow, V. N. Kasin, 1914). Portfolio of fourteen lithographs. Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints, and Photographs, NYPL.

*ornament* (St Petersburg, 1887), an important work on design. A collection of Stasov's letters is held by the Library's Manuscripts Division.

Some of the most colourful volumes concern military subjects, including *Illiustrirovannoe opisanie peremen v obmundirovanii* (St Petersburg, 1898–1899); the massive plate compilation *Istoricheskoe opisanie odezhdy i vooruzheniiia Rossiiskikh voisk* (St Petersburg, 1841–1862) by A. V. Viskovatov (1804–1858); and the newly acquired *Nabroski N. Samokisha iz zhizni Gvardeiskoi Kavalerii* ([St Petersburg], 1889–1890).

Finely illustrated children's books and ephemera—such as a picture-puzzle game from the nineteenth century—are to be found in the Division. These include a large collection of fairy tales such as *Skazka ob Ivane-tsarevich* (St Petersburg, 1901), and *Vasilisa Prekrasnaia*, illustrated by I. Ia. Bilibin (1876–1942); silhouette illustrations to I. A. Krylov's (1769–1844) fables; and a collection of 250 volumes of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century children's books from the personal library of the bibliographer and political figure N. K. Siniagin (1847–1912).

The collection is rich in volumes of portraiture, including *Izobrazheniya liudei znamenitykh* (Moscow, 1844); the well known six-volume compilation of Russian portraits entitled *Russkie portrety XVIII i XIX stoletii*, edited by Grand Duke Nicholas (1859–1919) and published in St Petersburg in 1905–1909; as well as caricatures of the Russian and Soviet periods such as N. G. Legat's (1869–1937) *Russkii balet v karikaturakh* (St Petersburg, 189?), and the *Pochti portrety* of the famous Kukryniksy (Moscow, 1932). There are also many books dealing with the applied arts—lacemaking, folk art, furniture, porcelain, etc.—which are of considerable practical use to the auction houses, artists and antique dealers of the New York Metropolitan area.

Illustrated editions of literary works abound, including lavishly illustrated editions of the works of Pushkin by artists such as Dobuzhinskii (a portion of Dobuzhinskii's archives is also curated by the NYPL), and two by Benois, one published by one of the finest printing houses in Russia, Golike and Vil'borg, in 1917. For the Soviet period, there is a copy of *Sem' plius tri* (Kharkov, 1918), a rare illustrated avant-garde poem numbered fifty-seven in an edition of two hundred.

### Photographica

There are more than four thousand original albumen and gelatin prints from the period *ca.* 1850–1930 in the Slavic and Baltic collection, covering an extraordinary range of subjects. Aside from their documentary value for architectural and ethnographic studies, individual images often constitute remarkable aesthetic achievements in the history of photographic art.

The photographic images held by the Slavic and Baltic Division range from



Ol'ga Rozanova, 'Pikovyj korol'', from Aleksei Kruchenykh, *Zaumnaia gniga* (Moscow, s.n., 1915). Spencer Collection, NYPL.

the remarkably well preserved *Risunki pamiatnikov chinam 12-go korpusa* (a Russian army unit fighting in the Caucasus) to an album chronicling the visit of Emperor Wilhelm II to Russia in 1888 containing snapshots of the Tsar, the German Emperor, and their respective families socializing on the Imperial yachts.

One of the most notable collections of original photographs is the elder George Kennan's (1845–1924) assemblage of photographic portraits of Russian anti-tsarist political exiles and convicts, which provide a rare glimpse of the tsarist prison system, particularly when used in conjunction with other photographic albums of Siberia held by the Division. Very recently, the Division acquired an unusual set of late nineteenth-century photographic prints of local inhabitants and exiled Russians in the Far East of Russia.

The forty-three photographs of the *Dukhovnaia missiia v Ierusalime*, possibly taken during the visit of Grand Duke Konstantin Konstantinovich (1858–1915) to the Holy Land in 1881, are iconographic treasures, and have a fine binding with carved olivewood boards. An Imperial presentation volume of scenes from the Nizhnii-Novgorod Fair of 1896 depict many of its pavilions and other important architectural features, such as the water tower designed by the engineer V. G. Shukhov (1853–1939), which was among its most popular attractions.

An album from the personal library of Alexander III depicts the Suzdal monastery before the destruction of some of its many buildings during the Soviet period. Also in the possession of the Division are many images of the Church of Christ the Saviour, destroyed on the orders of L. M. Kaganovich (1893– ) in the 1930s. These visual records are of great interest to the Russian Orthodox Church and its communicants.

The Division's holdings of pre-revolutionary illustrated books and photographic images are its greatest strength in quantitative terms, and yet there is much interesting material from the Soviet period as well: for example, the original photographic albums of journalist Bessie Beatty (1886–1947) who covered the early years of the Soviet state for the *San Francisco Bulletin*, and incidentally was the subject of an article in the first issue of the Soviet Culture Fund's *Nashe nasledie*; a collection of original views of Russia circa 1923, taken by an anonymous photographer; and John Reed's (1887–1920) own collection of broadsides and posters from the period 1917–1918, donated to the Division in the 1930s by the Association of Harvard Alumni.

### Use of the Collections

The Slavic and Baltic Division's collections of illustrated materials have been employed by a broad constituency. During the past two years alone they have been used by publishers such as Doubleday, Rizzoli, Abrams, and Abbeville; by the designer Yves St Laurent, who incorporated illustrative



Konstantin Stanislavskii as 'Satin' in Maksim Gor'kii's *The Lower Depths* (photograph by Francis Bruguiere). N.d. Billy Rose Theatre Collection, NYPL.

materials in several exhibition catalogues of Russian costume;<sup>6</sup> by dealers in art and antiquities, auction houses such as Christie's and Sotheby's and rare book dealers such as Ursus; and, quite recently, by the American Broadcasting Company; all have drawn extensively upon the visual and historical materials in the Library for a wide range of purposes. And, of course, a large and diverse international scholarly community regularly employs these materials in their research.

Yet up to this point in time, much of the exploitation of the visual materials in the collections has been on an *ad hoc* basis, depending largely on serendipity for the location of just the right image for a given project. The question facing the curators of illustrated materials is how best to facilitate the exploitation of the visual resources of the Library in general, and of the Slavic and Baltic Division in particular, which remains under-utilized in relation to the rest of the Slavic collection; and, of course, how to accomplish this with a minimum of wear and tear of the materials themselves.

The under-utilization of the collections is due in part to the fact that the available Russian-language guides to published illustrated materials—such as O. S. Ostroi and I. K. Saksonova's *Izobrazitel'noe i prikladnoe iskusstvo: bibliograficheskoe posobie* (Moscow, Kniga, 1986), N. A. Obol'ianinov's *Katalog russkikh illiustrirovannykh izdanii 1725–1860 gg.* (Moscow, Tovarishchestvo tipografi A. I. Mamontova, 1914–1915), and V. A. Vereshchagin's important compilation *Materialy dlia bibliografii russkikh illiustrirovannykh izdanii: Vyp. 1–4* (Leipzig, Zentralantiquariat der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, 1975 (reprint edition))—are little-known, and linguistically beyond the capability of many potential users. Even less readily accessible are the original photographic images, since the generic, artificial titles assigned to the albums for cataloguing purposes rarely convey the diversity of the images within.

Because of their large formats and the presence of coloured plates, published volumes of illustrated material have been republished very infrequently, limiting both their broad availability and user awareness. In fact, a survey of the *Pilvax Guide to Russian Reprints*—the only extant comprehensive guide to Russian commercial reprints—revealed a mere sixty-six

<sup>6</sup> See, for example, *Les Costumes Historiques Russes du Musée de l'Ermitage de Léningrad* (Paris, 1989), based on an exhibit of Russian costume prepared by Yves St Laurent at the Musée Jacquemart André, Paris, 28 February–31 May 1989; *Empire of the Czar: A Journey Through Eternal Russia*, by the Marquis de Custine, foreword by Daniel J. Boorstin, introduction by George Kennan (New York, 1989); and *1917 in Photographs* (New York, 1990); all of which made extensive use of the Library's collections.

titles in architecture, general art, photography, graphics, religious art and archaeology.<sup>7</sup>

There is, however, movement in a positive direction on many different fronts. In the area of bibliographic awareness, the Slavic and Baltic Division's collection development policy continues to emphasize reference materials, including collection surveys of other important art and iconographic collections in the United States, such as the Institute of Modern Russian Culture, now located at the University of Southern California, and abroad, such as the Helsinki University Library. The Division has also assembled an outstanding collection of Russian-language bibliographic guides. For those without a reading knowledge of Russian, work is in progress on an annotated bibliography of Western-language works, including translations from Russian, concerning the fine and applied arts in Russia. This will be published sometime in late 1990.

The present thaw in Soviet attitudes towards cooperative ventures with Western businesses and institutions provides an unprecedented opportunity for the republication of rare illustrated materials from Soviet repositories, as well as the often equally scarce reference works necessary to access them. The Division is actively encouraging new Soviet publishing ventures such as the recently established 'Nasledie' to include such materials in their purview.

As to the future of the materials in the NYPL collections, two projects are currently underway. Firstly, the Division is undertaking a division-by-division review of the Library's holdings, with particular attention being paid to the subject matter of illustrated materials. Secondly, the Division has received a grant of \$185,000 from the Department of Education for the preservation and description of its original photographic and illustrated books collections. Progress in these areas will do much to advance the Division's efforts both to preserve its collections and to facilitate access to their contents.

<sup>7</sup> The only notable exception is the colour microform set of avant-garde publications of the early twentieth century, entitled *Russian Futurism, 1910–1916* (Cambridge, Chadwyck-Healey, 1976–1977).

## Reviews

*Svodnyi katalog inkunabulov moskovskikh bibliotek, arkhivov i muzeev.* Sostaviteli N. P. Cherkashina (otv. sostavitel') [et al.]. Moskva, Gosudarstvennaia biblioteka SSSR imeni V. I. Lenina, 1988. 191 pp. Illustrations. Indexes. 50k.

This recent work in the important series *Materialy dlia svodnogo kataloga inkunabulov khramiashchikhsia v bibliotekakh SSSR* lists 252 editions in 272 copies preserved in six Moscow institutions: Moscow University Library, the State Public Historical Library, the Central State Archive of Ancient Documents (TsGADA), the All-Union State Library of Foreign Literature, the Pushkin Museum, and the Institute of Information on the Social Sciences. There is also a supplement listing twenty-three incunables not included in the 1982 *Svodnyi katalog*.

The explanatory preface is followed by an introduction discussing the nature and the history of the collections. We find out that the books include writing in seven languages: Latin, Greek, Italian, Spanish, German, Dutch and Czech; they were printed in thirty-five cities; and they are a standard cross-section of fifteenth-century output as far as genre and categories of the texts are concerned.

It is pleasing to discover a number of distinguished rarities, such as Richardus de Bury's *Philobiblon* (Cologne, Johann Schilling, 1473, no. 204), the unique copy of *Proverbios* by Iñigo López de Mendoza (Seville, Stanislaus Polonus, 1500, no. 150), and the 1488 Czech *Bible* (Prague, Jan Kemp, no. 53). Of great interest to students of early printing are fragments from three Mainz *Donatuses* (one apparently printed by Johann Gutenberg, no. 90; the others by Peter Schöffer, nos. 91, 92) and two fragments of books by Speculum-Printer (*Disticha Catonis*, no. 68, and Alexander de Villa Dei's *Doctrinale*, no. 14). All five are unique, and all five were identified and described by N. P. Kiselev in *Neizvestnye fragmenty* (Moscow, 1961).

The catalogue proper follows the GM style of presentation; the layout is clear, the illustrations well chosen and reasonably well reproduced. The catalogue's only disappointing feature is the paucity of copy-notes: the imperfections are mentioned, but one is left wondering what exactly is missing, and the complete absence of histories of individual copies impairs the value of the catalogue to Slavic cultural and social historians.

The main listing is supported by customary indexes and an impressive set of concordances—including those with published descriptions of fifteenth-century books from all Soviet libraries. A useful list of fifty Soviet libraries which have produced printed catalogues of their incunabula holdings concludes the work.

All in all, the catalogue represents an important step toward a highly desirable national census of incunabula, contributing greatly to our knowledge both of fifteenth-century printing and of the range of library resources in the Soviet Union.

EUGENIA ZAZOWSKA

*The Pierpont Morgan Library,  
New York*

Zh. Pavlova, *Imperatorskaia Biblioteka Ermitazha, 1762–1917*. Tenafly, N.J., Hermitage, 1988, c1987. 222 pp. Illustrations. Portraits. \$15.00.

The transformation of the Hermitage Library from the private collection of Catherine the Great into a world-class art library was accomplished, according to this account by Germaine Pavlova, almost in spite of the Museum administration and the tsarist government. For much of its pre-Revolutionary history, the Library languished or thrived according to the personal inclination of the staff and the whim of the monarch. At times it was neglected by incompetent, uninterested administrators; in better times it was protected by the good will and foresight of talented curators (most notably F. A. Zhil', who headed the Library from 1840 to 1863). At all times the Library's directors were constrained by the fact that the Library lacked legal status defining its function and relationship to other organs of government and, indeed, to the sovereign himself. As a result, the Library had neither an explicit mission nor an acquisitions profile, nor, apparently, an identifiable clientèle for most of its history prior to the Revolution. This lack of direction is amply illustrated in Pavlova's narrative. What is missing from her account, unfortunately, is a sense of the evolving cultural and socio-political milieu in which the Library existed. Important questions concerning the operation of the Library also remain unanswered. Without this broader historical context or the specific details of operation, the picture of the Hermitage Library that emerges is incomplete.

Pavlova, a former staff member at the Library who has previously published a substantial article on the history of the Hermitage Library in its initial phase of development ('Iz istorii khizhnogo sobraniia Ermitazha: Biblioteka Ekateriny II', in *Nauchnaia biblioteka Ermitazha 1*, Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Ermitazha, 16 (1975), pp. 6–32), divides the Library's pre-Revolutionary history into four stages, each described in one of the book's four chapters. Although we learn a great deal about the acquisition of private collections during each of these stages, other aspects of operation are not addressed. Who used the Library? How extensively was it used? What were the conditions of access? What were the views of the administration on access

to the collection and how did these views evolve over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries? What was the state of bibliographic control in the Library and how was it achieved? Although classification systems and catalogues are mentioned in passing (pp. 36, 72–3, 107), we do not learn how these classification systems were devised or adapted, nor of what they consisted; we do not learn what form the catalogues took, nor how they were compiled, nor, finally, whether they were good catalogues.

By far the most interesting episode described in the book is a conflict of tragic proportions between the director Zhil' and his subordinate and former protégé B. Kene. (Apparently broken by this ordeal and other difficulties, Zhil' resigned his position in 1864 and committed suicide en route for his native Switzerland shortly thereafter.) Here Pavlova draws exclusively on an account written by Zhil' himself and sent to Alexander II upon his retirement, which she found in the archive of the Winter Palace. Although other sources are cited to document Kene's unsavoury character (V. V. Stasov found him tiresome and grasping, for example), the author should have noted the absence of corroboration. Again, intriguing questions are left unanswered. Why, for example, did Alexander II dislike Zhil', his former tutor, and were his feelings sufficiently intense to cause him to countenance Kene's corrupt behaviour? How can Zhil's timidity and ineffectiveness in this episode be reconciled with Pavlova's overall characterization of him as able and adept? Zhil's difficulties with Kene coincided with his decade-long struggle with Baron M. A. Korf, director of the Public Library, to take over portions of each other's collections, and in this instance Zhil' was no match for the master politician Korf. Again, there are inconsistencies in the characterization of Zhil'. He is described as scrupulously honest (p. 96), while at the same time he was wont to lie to Korf about conditions at the Hermitage (p. 92, p. 175, n. 75).

In the end, it was not concern for the Library but a need for more space for the art collections that dealt the Library the final blow. The acquisition of the Marchese Campana's collection of art and antiquities in 1861 prompted the director of the Hermitage to order the library staff to weed out everything not specifically related to the museum's art and antiquities departments, and the remaining collection was dispersed among those departments. Yet it was this acquisition, according to Pavlova, that finally forced the Library to define itself and, nearly three decades later, to embark on a corresponding programme of collection development. What appeared to be the Library's demise was actually its rebirth.

Pavlova has made extensive use not only of the archives of the Hermitage but also those of numerous other institutions in Leningrad and Moscow. A detailed list of archival sources consulted is appended. There is also a short list of published sources, which curiously omits Pavlova's own 1975 article.

There are a few typographical errors and inconsistencies in the text. In the list of published sources, the date of publication for the sesquicentennial jubilee volume of the Public Library is given as 1965, rather than 1963; in the same list Svin'in's guidebook is listed twice, as item 27 and item 76, and the date of publication of volume 4 is incorrect both times. On page 18 the date of appointment of Catherine's librarian—important because it is generally taken as the date of founding of the Hermitage Library—is given as 1768, but on page 32 it is correctly given as 1762. The reference on page 61 to the 'Rumiantsevskii i Moskovskii Publichnyi muzei' in 1836 is clarified in an end-note explaining that the library did not exist as such at that time, but incorrectly gives 1861, rather than 1867, as the date the library became the Moskovskii Publichnyi i Rumiantsevskii Muzei (p. 1) (and in fact the Rumiantsev Museum was founded in 1831, not 1861; it was, however, transferred to Moscow in 1861). On page 80 *Zhil'* is directed to undertake selection of illuminated manuscripts from the Public Library on 13 May 1840, but 1848 or 1849 would seem more consistent with other events described. The volume is lavishly illustrated with portraits of the principals, the royal family and the Hermitage. The end-notes are extensive and in fact contain much interesting material that could have been integrated into the text to great advantage. Unfortunately, there is no index.

The history of the Hermitage Library is an important chapter in Russian cultural history, and Pavlova is to be credited for amassing so much rich detail. There remain a number of important questions about its development between 1762 and 1917. Perhaps some of these will be addressed in the Hermitage's 225-year jubilee volume announced for publication in the fourth quarter of 1989.

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Robert Otto, *Publishing for the People: The Firm Posrednik, 1885–1905*. New York and London, Garland Publishing Inc., 1987. 251 pp. \$42.00.

This succinctly argued study is the first to consider the history of *Posrednik* (*The Intermediary*) in the general context of popular publishing and the broad movement for *vneshkol'noe obrazovanie*. A very useful introductory chapter provides a history of publishing for the people from the early 1830s and details the many unsuccessful attempts made by *intelligenty* to bridge the cultural gap they agonizingly perceived to exist between themselves and the common people. Of especial interest, given the eventual partnership between the Tolstoyans and the *lubok* publisher Ivan Sytin and the successful

harnessing by *Posrednik* of the *ofeni* network of itinerant peddlers distributing *lubochnaia literatura* the length and breadth of the Russian Empire, is the author's conclusion that prior attempts to feed the spiritual man in the Russian peasant foundered largely as a result of excessive concern for content and insufficient regard for problems of distribution. Similarly impressive is his penetrating analysis of the nature and function of *lubochnaia literatura* and the differing attitudes to it of the average peasant in search of pleasure and the average *intelligent* pursuing aims more consciously cultural. Two chapters are then devoted to the cooperation between Lev Tolstoi and Vladimir Chertkov and the founding of *Posrednik*, and the crucial role played by Sytin. Three further chapters are concerned respectively with the part of Chertkov in the firm's initial growth and the later contributions made by his fellow Tolstoyans Ivan Gorbunov-Posadov and Pavel Biriukov and a succession of equally selfless sympathisers; the contents of the firm's publications—fiction and non-fiction totalling some 600 non-copyrighted titles between 1885 and 1904; and the broad impact it had on publishing for the people in tsarist Russia. Although *Posrednik* continued its activities well into the 1920s, the author wisely chooses to conclude his study in 1905, shortly after the firm had parted company with Sytin and, furthermore, the events of 1905 had led to the abolition of preliminary censorship for publications under 100 pages.

At first sight Ivan Sytin and Vladimir Chertkov may seem strange bedfellows. Sytin was semi-literate, self-made and as a publisher of *lubochnaia literatura* primarily concerned to provide the people with the kind of reading matter they wanted and were used to. As a businessman he was also interested in making money. Vladimir Chertkov belonged to the highest ranks of the Russian nobility, was an ex-guardsman turned Tolstoyan, and an advocate of simplification, selflessness and primitive anarchistic Christianity. As a publisher his prime concern was to enlighten and improve, providing the people with good spiritual food and what he thought they needed for salvation. Moreover, as an aristocratic penitent he abhorred profit, money and the world of business. Yet, in spite of their contrasting backgrounds and ideologies, they both wished to reach as large an audience as possible and each had something to give the other. Sytin had the distribution network, Chertkov could attract the prestigious authors. They came together, moreover, at a time when increasing literacy among the Russian peasantry was creating an expanding market for the wares they had to offer. The achievements of *Posrednik*, the timely child of this improbable union, were considerable. As Robert Otto writes in his final paragraph: 'The firm was the first *intelligently* publishing house to both grasp the importance of distribution and act on it. By doing so, the firm aroused the hostility of the government, provided the culturists with a measure of encouragement in their belief that the education of the people

was possible through their agency, and permitted a choice to the people where none had previously existed.'

Reprinted photomechanically for the Garland Series of Outstanding Dissertations from a thesis originally presented at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 1983, this study just missed E. A. Dinershtein's seminal book on Sytin published by 'Kniga' in 1983. As is inevitable in a series of this nature, it unfortunately reproduces errors present in the original dissertation. There are a fair number of misprints and typographical inconsistencies and also the occasional mistranslation. The present reviewer will surely not be alone in wondering whether 'Что читать народу', for example, might not have been translated as 'What the People Should Read' rather than 'What to Read to the People'? And although the bibliography is excellent, and the author has consulted all the relevant Soviet depositories (with the sole exception of the Rubakin archive in the manuscripts division of the Lenin Library, to which he was not granted access), it surely should have been possible to make some concession to the book form and add at least a subject and name index? These are, however, but minor blemishes in what is a balanced, broadly informed and well structured piece of work.

MICHAEL J. DE K. HOLMAN

*Leeds University*

Xenia Werner, *Wassili Masjutin in Riga, Moskau und Berlin. Sein Leben in Bildern und Dokumenten* (*Vasilij Masjutin in Riga, Moscow and Berlin. His life in pictures and documents*). Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Veröffentlichungen der Osteuropa-Abteilung, II. Berlin, Berlin Verlag Arno Spitz. [1989] 108 pp. DM48.00.

Masiutin (1884–1955) undoubtedly belongs among the prominent book illustrators of the twentieth century. If he is not as well-known as he deserves, it is partly on account of his life which led him from his birth-place, Riga, to Moscow, and finally to Berlin. Another reason is that he illustrated mainly Russian literature, both in Russian- and German-language editions; thus his work did not have as wide a circulation as the *œuvre* of other artists.

Masiutin attended the cadet school in Kiev but abandoned a military career in 1907 to study at the Moscow College of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture. World War I saw him as a soldier; in 1918 he started work at the Graphic Department of the Artistic-Technical Workshops in Moscow. At the end of 1920 he returned to his home-town Riga, and one year later he went to Berlin for good. During his early time in Berlin he created many of his most impressive illustrations. Ms Werner devoted a chapter in another publication to this period in the artist's life ('Vasilij Masjutins Buchillustrationen im

«Russischen Berlin»' (Masjutin's book illustrations in «Russian Berlin»), in Thomas R. Beyer *et al.*, *Russische Autoren und Verlage in Berlin nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg*, Berlin, 1987, pp. 187–245). In addition to illustrating, he worked for the UFA and other movie companies, the Habimah Theatre which performed in Berlin in 1930, and the theatre of Mikhail Chekhov, a nephew of the famous writer, in Paris. In 1945 Masiutin was taken into custody by the Russian occupation forces because of his previous contacts with Ukrainian nationalists, but one year later he was free again and even worked for the Russian administration.

Ms Werner provides a short biography of Masiutin (pp. 7–12) which is followed by a few quotations from Nabokov which do not deal with Masiutin personally but give a good idea of the emigrés' usual trouble with the bureaucracy. The illustrations consist of photographs, documents, postcards, clippings from newspapers and letters, especially those written to his daughter Marina. ('Today I received your postcard, my dear little child. Now the nights are pitch dark. Recently a horse escaped from the stable, tripped and got severely hurt. Chukundra says hello. She steals oats from the white horse, takes everything for herself and does not let him eat. I kiss you heartily, my little one, be a good girl. God bless you! Your Vasja' runs a postcard of 20 Jan. 1916.) Little sketches give the little girl a vivid idea of the letter's contents. This volume also reproduces quite a number of Masiutin's works, entries in exhibition catalogues and reports on exhibitions. Thus we learn that Masiutin's engravings were exhibited at the Moscow Rumiantsev Museum as early as 1920, before he left the country (*Oforty V. N. Masiutina (1908–1918)*, Moscow, 1920). Quite a number of Masiutin's works (nos. 77–145) were shown at The Hague in 1924, at the 'Tentoonstelling van russische kunstschilders'. No less than six items were included in *Ten Years of Russian Graphics* (*Katalog vystavki graviura SSSR za 10 let (1917–1927)*, Moscow, 1927). Little-known among Masiutin's works are his sculptures, his novels (*Dni tvoreniiia*, written in 1919, and *Der Doppelmensch*, Munich, 1925), and his illustrations to Æsop's *Fables* (1937). The volume ends with a bibliography on Masiutin. Especially important are several articles by Ms Werner, Klaus Oestermann's recent catalogue of Masiutin's illustrations (1987), and an index of names.

Illustrated biographies have become quite popular; they are usually more imaginative and readable than mere texts. But there is a disadvantage: if there are not any illustrations for a certain period of the person's life, or if the items in question are difficult to reproduce, these things are either omitted or only briefly mentioned. For this reason the most convenient solution would seem to be a well illustrated biographical text which goes beyond mere captions to the pictures. The readers of the present biography would certainly appreciate more information on Masiutin's life and works than is provided. The

bibliography refers to additional sources to be drawn on, including the author's own articles on Masiutin. Even if this lack of textual information is quite regrettable, the volume as a whole is well done, and author and publisher deserve our praise for making this unique material available to us. Masiutin was an important representative of 'Russian Berlin' which has recently attracted quite a lot of attention in connection with the celebration of the 750th anniversary of Berlin. In May 1989 a major exhibition at the Berlin Art Library, 'Europäische Moderne', included several items by Masiutin. The initial on the book cover is taken from Masiutin's illustrations for Boris Pil'niak's *Povest' peterburgskaia* (Berlin, 1922, page 51). Besides the general edition, the publisher offers a special numbered one which contains one piece of original graphic by Masiutin (price DM 64.00).

HARTMUT WALRAVENS

*Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz,  
Berlin*

*L'Émigration russe. Revues et recueils, 1920–1980. Index général des articles*, edited by T. L. Gladkova and T. A. Osorgina. Preface by Marc Raeff. Bibliothèque russe de L'Institut d'études slaves, tome LXXXI. Paris, Institut d'études slaves, 1988. 661 pp.

When considering the current state of Russian emigré bibliography, one obvious weakness is in the area of periodical indexes. While we know which periodicals were published, their contents are largely unknown to us. Without access to such information our understanding of modern Russian culture will necessarily be incomplete.

The volume under review attempts to address this bibliographic problem. Growing out of an in-house finding guide, this work indexes some forty journals and sixteen anthologies drawn from the collections of the Bibliothèque Russe Tourguénev and the Bibliothèque de Documentation Internationale Contemporaine. The result is coverage of 25,260 items arranged alphabetically by author. The volume also contains a brief preface and introduction in French, Russian and English, bibliographical information on the publications indexed, a list of anonymous articles, and an index of personal names appearing in article titles.

While this index looks quite impressive, a closer examination indicates a number of problems which limit its value as a research tool. These problems rest primarily in the mechanics of compilation. For example, one wonders why the contents of the journal *Grani* are included, when the journal issued its own separate index in 1977. Equally puzzling is the omission of pagination for each item, and why no subject index is included.

Despite these factors, the index does provide access to a large body of information hitherto difficult to locate. As such it aids in the overall bibliographic control of Russian emigré publications. We should warmly acknowledge the efforts made in bringing this index into existence, and hope that future works will help further to close the considerable gaps in coverage that remain.

MARK KULIKOWSKI

*State University of New York  
College at Oswego*

Wolfgang Kasack, *Dictionary of Russian Literature since 1917*. Translated by Maria Carlson and Jane T. Hedges. Bibliographical revision by Rebecca Atack. New York, Columbia University Press, 1988. xvi + 502 pp. Name and subject indexes. \$55.00.

Vol'fgang Kazak, *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar' russkoi literatury s 1917 goda*. Translated by Elena Vargaftik and Igor' Burikhin. London, Overseas Publications Interchange Ltd., 1988. 924 pp. Name and subject indexes. £23.00.

This work started its public life in Stuttgart in 1976 as *Lexikon der russischen Literatur ab 1917*. It was immediately apparent that translations of it would fill an important gap in the market in all other countries where there is an informed interest in modern Russian literature. Now that the English- and Russian-language editions are finally available the good news (as Professor Kasack himself admits in the Russian edition, p. 898) is that many of the entries are already, thanks to glasnost, partly out-of-date, and the even better news (as O. Mikhailov tells us in his generally positive review on p. 206 of *Moskva*, No. 1, 1990) is that a Soviet edition, 'without any excisions at all, but in a new redaction by the author', is ready for publication by 'Kniga' in Moscow. Until it is available, the Russian translation (from German) published in London is a rather better buy than the English-language volume (also translated from the German) published in New York. The former went to press a little later which means that some of the bibliographies contain new items, and it has a supplementary chapter at the end which even manages to mention a few items omitted by Julian Graffy in his splendid survey of recent developments ('The Literary Press', pp. 107–57 of *Culture and the Media in the USSR Today*, eds. J. Graffy and G. Hosking, Basingstoke, etc., Macmillan, 1989). More important, the translators into Russian have a much better knowledge of the subject matter than do the translators into (sometimes very awkward) English. For example, 'Zinovyev regards his stylistically very monotonous works as chapters of a larger book. His works are written without

artistic talent in a quite consistent form of satiric condensation and abstraction that often requires commentary' (p. 487) is less satisfactory than 'Свои весьма своеобразные по стилю произведения сам З. рассматривает как главы одной большой книги. Все они написаны в совершенно однообразной (часто требующей комментариев) форме сатирического сгущения и абстрагирования и лишены художественных достоинств' (pp. 300–1). (The forthright German original is in the supplementary volume (*Ergänzungsband*) of the *Lexikon*, Munich, Sagner, 1986 (Arbeiten und Texte zur Slawistik, 38), p. 219.) Moreover, the English-language entry on Zinov'ev misleadingly refers to *Gomo sovetikus* as 'short stories'. Neither edition, however, gives sufficient details in some of the bibliographical references: the first source for further information on Zinov'ev is simply 'G. Andreev, Cologne, 1978' (p. 487, English edition) and 'G. Andreev, Köln, 1978' (p. 301, Russian edition). What is it, and how do you find it?

Each volume is said to contain 619 author entries and 87 subject entries. The *Handbook of Russian Literature* edited by Victor Terras is mentioned in both editions under review; it should always be used when it contains an entry on a writer or subject covered by Kasack, as it is very likely that Terras will contain additional useful information. The choice of and space allocated to authors included in Kasack has been queried by some emigrés (Gorbanevskaia gets almost as much space as Arsenii Tarkovskii and David Samoilov together, for instance), but Kasack anticipates such criticisms by reference to the easy availability elsewhere of data on many of the better-known writers. He also explains convincingly in the Preface/От автора why he includes non-Russians who write in Russian (Aigi, Aitmatov) as well as Russians who may be better known in other languages (Nabokov, Chelishchev), but it is a pity that he excludes nearly all literary critics and scholars. Because of their exceptional importance in Russia one hopes that more of them will be accorded an entry in future expanded editions of this invaluable work of reference.

MARTIN DEWHIRST

*University of Glasgow*

*The Red Pencil: Artists, Scholars and Censors in the USSR*, edited by Marianna Tax Choldin and Maurice Friedberg; Russian portions translated by Maurice Friedberg and Barbara Dash. Boston, Unwin Hyman, 1989. xvii + 240 pp. Bibliography. £30.00.

This book is the proceedings of a conference on 'Soviet Direction of Creative and Intellectual Activity', held at the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies in May 1983. That conference built on and up-dated the

1969 London conference which resulted in *The Soviet Censorship*, edited by Martin Dewhirst and Robert Farrell (Metuchen, N.J., Scarecrow Press, 1973). The papers presented vary considerably—some are dispassionate scholarly analyses, others impassioned and often bitter testimonials to the way in which censorship has damaged Soviet literary and intellectual life. The reports of the discussions at the end of each session give a lively indication of disputes within the emigré community and between Western experts on the operation and effects of censorship. The picture which emerges is often confused and inconsistent, apparently because the censorship has operated in different ways in dealing with certain journals or newspapers, and because the system has changed over time.

The book opens with a short essay by Aleksandr Gershkovich on 'Soviet culture of the mid-1980s: a new thaw?', which stresses that the 'thaw' began well before Gorbachev came to power. It was not granted from above but seized from below. No longer can we speak of one Soviet art or culture—there are now disparate voices, competing ideas. Leonid Vladimirov provides a short piece on censorship, mainly up to the mid-1960s, and argues that one of the worst effects of censorship is the deformation of literary taste. Maurice Friedberg takes a fresh look at the treatment of foreign (mainly US) fiction and literary history in Russian translation, and Marianna Tax Choldin provides an illuminating analysis of discrepancies between the originals and the Russian translations of four Western political books.

The papers on censoring the artistic imagination concentrate on writers' personal experiences of censorship. Vassily Aksenov's contribution is an angry attack on socialist realism. Vladimir Voinovich stresses that the whole of the Soviet system constitutes the censorship—it is not just Glavlit and the formal agencies of control. Censorship benefits not only poor writers but also those who are just not very good. Andrei Siniavskii, in a thoughtful piece on the effects of censorship, shows how it corrupts language and distorts people's view of the world. Its benefits are limited—perhaps it trains readers to read more sensitively, perhaps it makes readers appreciate great writers all the more when they do find them. It also keeps misprints to a minimum!

The first paper in the section on the mass media is Golovskoi on film censorship. He provides a history and description of how the film censorship operated in the 1960s and 1970s. There is a brief chronology and a useful glossary of organizations. This is followed by Il'ia Suslov on newspapers, mainly *Literaturnaia gazeta*, and Boris Zaks on how Glavlit dealt with (or, rather, failed to deal with) *Novyi mir* under Tvardovskii. Gershkovich covers the theatre. In a wide-ranging essay (from Pushkin to the Taganka Theatre in the 1980s) he concentrates on how the arts (especially the theatre) manage to survive despite censorship. There is no paper dealing with radio and television.

The section on 'The Scientist's Laboratory' is disappointing. It consists of one short contribution by the dissident physicist Iurii Iarim-Agaev, which is principally concerned with the existence of secret courts which deal with secret establishments, followed by four pages of discussion. In order to live up to its title, the volume should have included more material on how government direction affects science, technology, research and development. There is nothing on medicine, and very little on music, the pictorial arts, history and the social sciences (apart from Choldin on translations). Some of these issues are discussed in Raymond Hutchings's *Soviet Secrecy and Non-Secrecy* (Macmillan, 1987), which incidentally does not appear in the bibliography appended to *The Red Pencil*. Nevertheless, this bibliography of well over 200 recent books and articles is a valuable supplement to the conference proceedings. There is an index but it appears flawed—for instance, the only Soviet newspaper it lists is *Pravda*, despite numerous references to *Literaturnaia gazeta* in Suslov's piece.

Nevertheless, this volume is an important advance in our understanding of how censorship and government direction affect literature and the mass media. I wonder what changes would be reported by a similar conference in ten years time?

JENNY BRINE

Leeds

Ben Hellman and Johan Kjellberg, *Suomen venäjänkielisen kirjallisuuden bibliografia 1813–1972. Bibliografi över den ryskspråkiga litteraturen i Finland 1813–1972. Bibliografia russkoi literatury, izdannoi v Finliandii 1813–1972*. Publications of the Helsinki University Library, 52. Helsinki, Helsingin yliopiston kirjasto, 1988. [xiii] + 96 pp.

This bibliography aims to include Russian-language material published in Finland up to 1972 with the exception of underground literature printed in Finland for distribution in Russia. Practically all items—there are around 1,500—have been examined *de visu*. There are two alphabetical sequences of books and pamphlets (Cyrillic and Roman, because items with a Russian-language component—such as grammars and dictionaries—are included), and lists of periodicals and series. A classified sequence, arranged by UDC main classes and giving authors and short titles, provides a subject approach. The book concludes with a handful of entries in Ukrainian, Belorussian and Serbo-Croat. The bibliography is typographically clear and the principles on which it is based are plainly set out in Finnish, Swedish and Russian.

The study of Russians in Finland and the relationship between Finland and Russia has been greatly advanced by this most useful work. For example,

the incidence of publication of Russian language courses for schools, common in the nineteenth century and up to 1917, and reappearing in significant numbers only after the Second World War, reflects changes in syllabuses and in official and popular attitudes in Finland. The mass of publications by Finnish government agencies, such as Finnish State Railways, and by the government itself during the last years before the Revolution are eloquent of increasing Russian influence on Finnish administration. The presence of the Russian army before 1917 is abundantly clear from its publications. The continuing presence of the Russian Orthodox Church is apparent and a few Russian social and cultural organizations, such as the Russkoe blagotvoritel'noe obshchestvo v Finliandii, have endured beyond the 1920s; the Russkii laun-tennis klub v Gel'singforse issued its regulations in 1930. The most recent type of material is the trade literature of Finnish companies, marking the establishment of regular commercial relations between Finland and the Soviet Union with products as diverse as ro-ro ships and saunas.

Ben Hellman and Johan Kjellberg are to be congratulated not only on closing a bibliographical gap but for opening up new opportunities for scholars who will use their work.

J. E. O. SCREEN

*SSEES Library, London*

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# Notes

## Независимая общественная библиотека

Александр Суэтнов

Независимая общественная библиотека в Москве была основана в 1988 году при содействии крупнейших самиздатских изданий: ‘Экспресс-хроника’, ‘Гласность’, ‘Выбор’, ‘Свободное слово’, ‘Бюллетень христианской общественности’, ‘Хронограф’ и др.

Задача библиотеки — сбор и хранение произведений неподцензурной (независимой) печати; предоставление читателям книг представляющих альтернативную точку зрения, изданных на Западе и не поступивших в советские библиотеки, рукописей и книг, изъятых из государственных библиотек.

Фонд библиотеки уникален. В нем хранятся издания, выходившие тиражом не более десяти экземпляров, но ставшие значительным культурным или политическим событием (сборник отзывов на ‘Письмо вождям’ Солженицына, первые ‘Хроники текущих событий’, журналы ‘Обводный канал’, ‘Эпсилон-салон’). Многие редакции независимых изданий передали в библиотеку свои архивы, некоторые рукописи хранящиеся в библиотеке имеются только в одном экземпляре (напр. роман философа и богослова Н. Байтова ‘Ад в стороне’).

К началу 1990 года библиотека имеет 12 филиалов в разных городах страны — в Петрозаводске и Омске, Ташкенте и Ленинграде. Ее фонд насчитывает около 10.000 единиц хранения, в том числе, программные документы неформальных организаций, периодические независимые издания, рукописи, ‘тамиздат’, книги, изданные библиотекой.

Библиографическая служба библиотеки постоянно ведет учет неподцензурных изданий, каталоги и тематические картотеки, выпускает обзоры самиздата, специальный журнал ‘Независимый библиограф’.

Библиотека способна оказать содействие в комплектовании независимыми изданиями, предоставить исчерпывающую библиографическую информацию о самиздате, провести исследования по социологии чтения, аналитические и реферативные обзоры общественного движения в СССР. Библиотека действует в рамках Венских и Хельсинкских договоренностей, осуществляя право советских граждан на свободное получение и распространение информации, ставя своей конечной целью, широкое распространение в России гуманитарных ценностей мировой и Европейской культуры.

Адрес библиотеки:  
Москва. Профсоюзная 136.4.317.  
Телефон: 397-09-14.

Библиографическая служба:  
Москва. 115551. Ореховый б-р. 11.150.  
Суэтнов А. И.  
Телефон: 391-88-20.

*The British Library has signed an agreement with the Nezavisimaia obshchestvennaia biblioteka, whereby the Nezavisimaia obshchestvennaia biblioteka will select and acquire a wide and representative range of Soviet informal publications for the British Library, Slavonic and East European Collections. (Ed.)*

## The Library of Unpublished Manuscripts

A small independent library (Biblioteka neizdannykh rukopisei), attached to the Tvorcheskii tsentr in Moscow, concentrates on literary samizdat, mainly works by young authors who are not published by state publishing houses. The Tvorcheskii tsentr also publishes a monthly bulletin entitled *Tsentr* which gives information about new publications and 'alternative' cultural events (mainly avant-garde) in Moscow and other places in the Soviet Union. The Tvorcheskii tsentr has recently concluded an agreement with the publishing house 'Prometei' for the publication of small-*tirazh* editions of new authors. Pre-publication information about these is also given in *Tsentr* from time to time. *Tsentr* can be ordered from: 117342 Moscow, P/O 342, Mikhail Romm (*do vostrebovaniia*). An annual subscription costs £10.00 Sterling or U.S.\$17.00. Payment should be made by international money transfer to: Account (raschetnyi schet) no. 57380407, Vneshekonombank SSSR, Sovetsko-kanadskoe predpriiatie 'Skantek Forum' (*dlia redaktsii Vestnika Tvorcheskogo tsentra*).

## Books Wanted

The Leningrad Public Library is actively seeking to improve its holdings of *Russica* published in the West. Donations of books or journals in Russian or about Russia/the Soviet Union would be gratefully received. Address: Mrs T. V. Furaeva, Head of the International Exchange Section, Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library, Sadovaia ul. 18, 191069 Leningrad.

The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences Library in Kiev aims to build up a comprehensive collection of *Ucrainica* wherever published and would welcome donations of books or journals in Ukrainian or about the Ukraine. Address: Dr M. I. Senchenko, Director, Vernadsky Central Scientific Library, prospekt 40-rchchia Zhovtnia 3, 252039 Kiev.

## Contacts for Book Collectors

Any organization or individual who would like to be put in touch with bibliophiles and book collectors in any republic of the Soviet Union should write to: Tsentral'noe pravlenie, Vsesoiuznoe obshchestvo 'Kniga', Pushechnaia ul. 7, 103031 Moscow.

## *Solanus* 1991

*Solanus*, Volume 5 (1991), will be a special issue devoted to selected papers from the International Slavic Librarians' Conference (to be held in Harrogate in July 1990 as part of the IV World Congress for Soviet and East European Studies). It will be a double issue at double the normal price.

# Stop Press: The Lenin Library

At the beginning of this year a special commission was appointed by the Supreme Soviet to investigate the working of the Lenin Library and to make recommendations on its future development. The Commission proposed that the old building be restored and that a new main building be constructed on the present site with two further new buildings in the vicinity. Printed below are the recommendations of the Library Section of the Commission. The Editorial Board is grateful to the authors for giving permission for this document to be published in *Solanus*.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STATE LENIN LIBRARY OF THE USSR: A CONCEPT PAPER

1. *A Standard Model.* In order to evaluate correctly the present condition of a library and to determine an appropriate course of development, it is necessary to have a standard—an ideal model. A model that can be used for the Lenin Library is that of the national library, which involves the fulfilment of the following functions (which distinguish a national library from other types of library):

a) the exhaustive acquisition and long-term storage of library collections which represent a constituent part of the national cultural heritage and which, in this capacity, are of value to all mankind;

b) the enrichment of the national cultural heritage through the creation of a bibliographical infrastructure in the form of national bibliographies, current national bibliographies, union catalogues, retrospective directories, etc.;

c) the provision of library and bibliographical services without any limitations.

The realization of these essential functions presupposes: comprehensive collection of publications on the basis of the copyright deposit law; democratic accessibility of all collections and a guarantee of their safekeeping; and coordination and cooperation with other types of libraries, since no national library can or should replace the library system of the country.

The national library should be independent in its activity and protected by law from any influence of an ideological or political nature (in collection development, cataloguing, public service, etc.).

It should be noted that the ideal model of a national library does not oblige it to have an orientation towards world literature: it has the right to limit itself to publications which represent the national cultural heritage. However, it is envisaged that its collections should include *exteriorica (patriotica)* [i.e. material published abroad in the languages of and/or about the Soviet Union], which do not form part of the country's national heritage but which supplement it.

2. *The Lenin Library as the National Library of the USSR.* The USSR is a multi-national state, a federation of republics, each with its own national library. The Lenin Library belongs to the type of the national library, but represents the cultural heritage not of a separate ethnographic nation but of the Soviet people as a community, formed historically and variable in its composition, living within defined

state boundaries. Therefore it is more exact to consider the Lenin Library as a state library, understanding by the word 'state' the federative structure of the Union, and not the ownership of the library by the organs of state power. The national library of Russia is the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library.

Within the framework of a federative state, and existing in parallel with the national libraries of union republics and autonomous regions, the activity of the general state library undoubtedly has its peculiarities. Firstly, its direct link with the idea of 'state', as distinct from the national-cultural aspect of other libraries; secondly, the function of representing national cultures at state level. The latter problem can be solved through the possible delegation of functions by national libraries to the all-union library.

*The state (national) library of the USSR in all its activity and in the first place through its collections represents the cultural potential of the Soviet State and of the peoples which compose it, and gives a complete picture of the country and its place in the world community.*

The Lenin Library differs from other Soviet libraries which have national status in that it does not have specialized collections, like the State Scientific Technical Library and the All-Union Patents and Technical Library, or collections that are national in profile, like the Saltykov-Shchedrin State Public Library and other republic libraries, but has a collection of Soviet material which is universal in subject-matter. Thus it represents in the public consciousness an especially precious symbol of the country's culture.

The public prestige and authority of the Lenin Library as a state universal library was the cause of the decision of the ruling organs to invest in it the powers of the 'main' library in the country's hierarchy of libraries. The Lenin Library began to fulfil not only the function of representative of the Soviet library system within the country and in the international arena, but also took on weighty powers in relation to libraries in the USSR, as consolidated in law by the 'Resolution on Librarianship in the USSR' (1984). The Lenin Library became the main link in the command-administrative system of governing libraries, which is not one of the essential functions of a national library. Over a period of time the administrative functions became paramount in the activity of the Lenin Library.

*Collection development.* In the given case, the main priority should undoubtedly be the receipt of all printed, audio-visual and other output issued on the territory of the Soviet Union, the formation (supplementary collection development) of collections of manuscripts and publications of previous epochs from within the same territorial limits. In the field of supplementary collection development and in the acquisition of *exteriorica*, depending on agreements with other national-state libraries, the scope of acquisition can vary from exhaustive (where there is no national library or where its functions have been delegated to the Lenin Library) to selective (where there is a national library which undertakes responsibility for collecting national literature of previous epochs and *exteriorica*). Similarly, agreements can be made between the Lenin Library and other libraries whereby part of the function of collecting and preserving particular types of publications (audio-visual, electronic, etc.) is delegated to them.

In the field of foreign acquisitions, the national library is obliged to acquire *exteriorica* and (in coordination and cooperation with other libraries) to collect a representative sample of printed works and documents of foreign culture which reflect both the links of the national culture with world culture and the most significant processes in world culture and in the world community.

In the library's collections, representing as they do the culture of the community, there is a particular role to be played by former private collections of individual bibliophiles. As products of the epoch in which they were formed, they deserve to be stored and used as integral units. Therefore they should be kept together and special rooms should be provided for work on them.

Archival and museum functions are not foreign to the Lenin Library. It does not hold the Archive of the Soviet Printed Word, although it could do this, but it has in its collections a considerable number of manuscripts and other material which have an archival-museum value. In this sense the Lenin Library functions as a museum of the book. It is clear that such a museum is indispensable, but its place is not necessarily in the national library.

Expert monitoring of the flow of Soviet publications, growth in the acquisition of *exteriorica* and an essential increase in the volume of current foreign material collected will lead to an increase in the flow of new acquisitions. The transfer of texts onto microform can only compensate for the growth in volume and will hardly lead to a decrease in the amount of space filled each year.

*Accessibility of the library and the system of serving readers.* It follows from the concepts of a national library set out above that its readership should be all citizens of the USSR (from the moment they reach the age of majority). Thus everyone, beginning with final-year pupils, becomes a potential reader of the Library.

It can be calculated that, given the same structure of visitors which there was at the end of the 1960s when the Lenin Library's reading rooms were open to everyone, the number of readers would be at least double the number which is being used as a basis for the plans for rebuilding the Lenin Library. This conclusion is confirmed by data from the experiment carried out during the summer months of 1987 and 1988 when, in spite of the drop in numbers of visitors which always occurs during the summer period, lack of public knowledge about the experiment and the absence of student readers (not to mention final-year pupils), there occurred a doubling of the normal number of readers. In this case, the overall number of visits will not be fewer than 19,000 to 20,000 a day (if we calculate the maximum, then 23,000 to 26,000 visits a day). The time spent in the reading rooms and, accordingly, the turnover of one reader's seat in reading rooms of different types, corresponding with readers of different types, will differ, varying between 1·5 and 3 a day.

All the readers of the State Library, depending on the nature of their informational and library needs, their level of bibliographical grounding, the range of information which they require, the frequency of their visits and the length of time they spend working in the library, their needs for additional space for meeting together, etc., can be broken down into four groups:

1. Research workers—above all the most qualified, having an academic degree, postgraduate students undertaking fundamental research. This type of work, represented mainly by humanities researchers but also by theoreticians of the physical-mathematical and natural sciences, is characterized by a significant frequency of visits to the library, the length of time spent in the library each day, very high intensity of demands on the collections, and breadth of demand—from the oldest literature to the most recent Soviet and foreign literature. Subjectwise, this type of reader is characterized by a diversity of needs, since within the boundaries of fundamental research there is no clear differentiation of problems or of methods of analysis and interpretation.

2. Research workers and engineers, planners, designers, connected mainly with the technical and applied sciences and with research relating to different types of scientific

investigative work. Characteristic of this group of readers is a narrow-profile demand for the most recent scholarly and informational literature in their field. The depth of their informational demands does not exceed ten to twelve years, but the demands themselves bear a highly differentiated thematical character. The periods of time spent working in the library are significantly shorter, since the visit is for a specific purpose, in search of specific information, and the frequency [of visits] is comparatively less.

3. Students, carrying out or preparing for independent work, having an inclination towards it, or carrying out diploma or course work. In terms of the future of research, these are the most important group; without them there can be no continuity in the development and existence of research: the earlier they move out beyond the limits of their course work, the more beneficial the effect on the development of research in the future. For them it would be desirable to have extra guidance in visual form and personal help from consultants and librarians. The duration of students' work is closely tied to the organization of the timetable and changes significantly according to the time of year and time of day—with heavy loading on the second half of the day throughout the year and at the time of diploma work, with a very light loading on the library in the summer.

4. The non-specialist reading public—groups of readers characterized by the amorphous and unsystematic structure of their reading needs, those who visit the library once for a specific purpose, those engaged in self-education, educational activity, etc. These are teachers, people employed in publishing, pensioners, bibliophiles. Their information habits and demands do not presuppose a high level of bibliographic culture, therefore they need the same help as the readers of any public library.

These types of reader behaviour make particular demands of planners and architects. Most appropriate to the work of the readers of the first type is the system of carrels, with a large amount of open access to as wide as possible a range of basic and reference works and as authoritative as possible a range of scholarly periodicals—above all, of foreign periodicals—, and an individually equipped working place with the direct transmission of information to the reader's place. This category of readers also needs specially planned and designated social meeting places—vestibules, smoking areas, cafés (not just 'feeding points' but places conducive to the stimulation of intellectual work and where readers can drink tea, coffee, etc.). This is not a luxury but a form of normal academic work—we are speaking of the possibility, as at conferences, of discussing topics or problems which have arisen with colleagues, or of holding impromptu seminars, etc.).

For readers of the second category, on the other hand, use of the library in relation to their basic work is facultative, and the amount of time spent in the library is relatively limited. This group is characterized by a high turnover of readers' seats and speed of using literature. For them it is essential to have collections arranged in a utilitarian fashion, according to subject, including secondary and reference works.

Students are, to a certain degree, similar to the first group, although they do not need the system of carrels. On the other hand, their needs are highly specific, but the depth of their demand is less than that of the first group. Here a high proportion of requests is for literature of the 'middle level', representing the achievements of relatively recent times (but not the latest topics of research), also for reference works and textbooks.

The characteristics of the fourth group correspond to the usual non-specialist forms of reader behaviour in large libraries. For them there should be displays on

particular themes, information systems to help them and rooms where they can consult current periodicals (including foreign ones).

If the present limitations on access to the library collections were removed, the probable structure of the overall flow of readers in visits per day could be defined thus: Type 1—approximately 30%–35%, Type 2—35%–40%, Type 3—10%–15%, Type 4—10%–20%. In numbers this comes out as: 4,000–5,000 visits, 8,000 visits, 3,000 visits, 4,000 visits. However, the turnover [in a day] of one seat in various reading rooms would differ: in reading rooms of the first type it would consist of 1·5–2, in reading rooms of the second type—3, of the third type—2·3, and of the fourth type—3 or more. The sum total of daily visits would be 19,000–20,000 readers, which would mean a total provision of reader places in reading rooms of various types of 10,000–11,000.

*The information potential* of a national library consists not only in the fullness of its own collections, but in the fullest possible information about the existence of printed and other documents in the libraries of the country (and the world). In the first place this relates to the publications of the country itself and to *exteriorica*. In this connection it would seem expedient to create electronic union catalogues (a union catalogue of Soviet books, of Russian books, catalogues of publications in separate languages) and on their basis to create an electronic catalogue of the library's own holdings.

The existence of the All-Union Book Chamber substantially limits the functions of the national library in the area of current and retrospective registration of Soviet publications. It would seem more rational to include the task of registering and keeping the archival copy of national printed output, which now exists in the All-Union Book Chamber, in the system of the Lenin Library, with the transfer of the appropriate facilities, storage space and staff.

In the national library's informational activity, priority should be given to providing bibliographical-informational services for all-union and interdisciplinary research programmes, and the setting up and carrying out of its own bibliographical projects, which would realise the cultural potential of the library.

Closely linked to the informational activity of the library is *the research work of the library*. In selecting priorities, three functions of the state library may be taken into consideration: that of the national repository, that of the centre of spiritual culture, and that of the 'main library of the country'. With these in mind, research programmes should concern themselves with the development of the library itself (research into restoration, technology, public services, etc.), the opening up of the collections (book studies, manuscript studies, history of the library, its collections, etc.), and assistance to the library network (sociology, library studies, etc.). In a limited form, all three directions of research can be carried out within the framework of the structure of the library itself. However, the nature of such problems as restoration of collections and research into the situation of libraries nationwide extend outside the framework of internal problems. Therefore it would be preferable to have independent institutions attached to the Lenin Library which would carry out a nationwide programme of manuscript and book restoration (Centre for Preservation and Restoration) and a programme for the development of librarianship (Institute of Librarianship).

One essential function of a library as large as the Lenin Library is its activity as the central, 'main' library of the country. This officially designated status of the Lenin Library will only be fully confirmed in terms of its real leadership when it is able to carry out the following functions [appropriate to] the chief institution:

*A centre of national and international library loan.* A wide network of borrowing libraries, an improved system of efficient communication and an increase in requests for scholarly publications could place even a library as large as the Lenin Library in the position of not being able to fulfil this function properly. The most rational solution would be to create a 'lending library', a large collection of books and periodicals which could satisfy 70%–80% of libraries' loan requests and which would draw widely on a store of negative copies made from the rare books in the main collections in order to provide efficiently positives for despatch to requesting libraries.

*The work of the library as the centre of the state's automated system* is possible only if the library is technically equipped at a higher level than the other libraries and if it employs technology at a similarly high level.

A look at the work of national libraries in various countries shows that, apart from their organically inherent cultural-historical mission, they fulfil a whole series of non-specific functions. Unlike foreign national libraries, the Lenin Library does not fulfil a number of basic functions to be found in a centre for national bibliography and cataloguing, and does not act as the library of parliament, but, in spite of its significance as the state library, is subordinate to a specific government department and is burdened with the following obligations:

- a centre of recommendatory bibliography;
- a specialized information centre on culture and art;
- an information centre serving science and scientific-technical progress;
- a methodological centre for the libraries of the country.

But the national library is by no means obliged to serve as an all-union methodological centre or as the leading theoretical centre for library and bibliographical studies. As many years of experience have shown, combining the functions of directing librarianship and leading the theory of librarianship is far from ensuring the integration of theory and practice, but rather leads to stagnation in both.

The deformation of the functional structure of the Lenin Library has serious consequences not only for the cultural-historical mission of the Library, but also for Soviet librarianship, of which it is the head.

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## Books Received

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